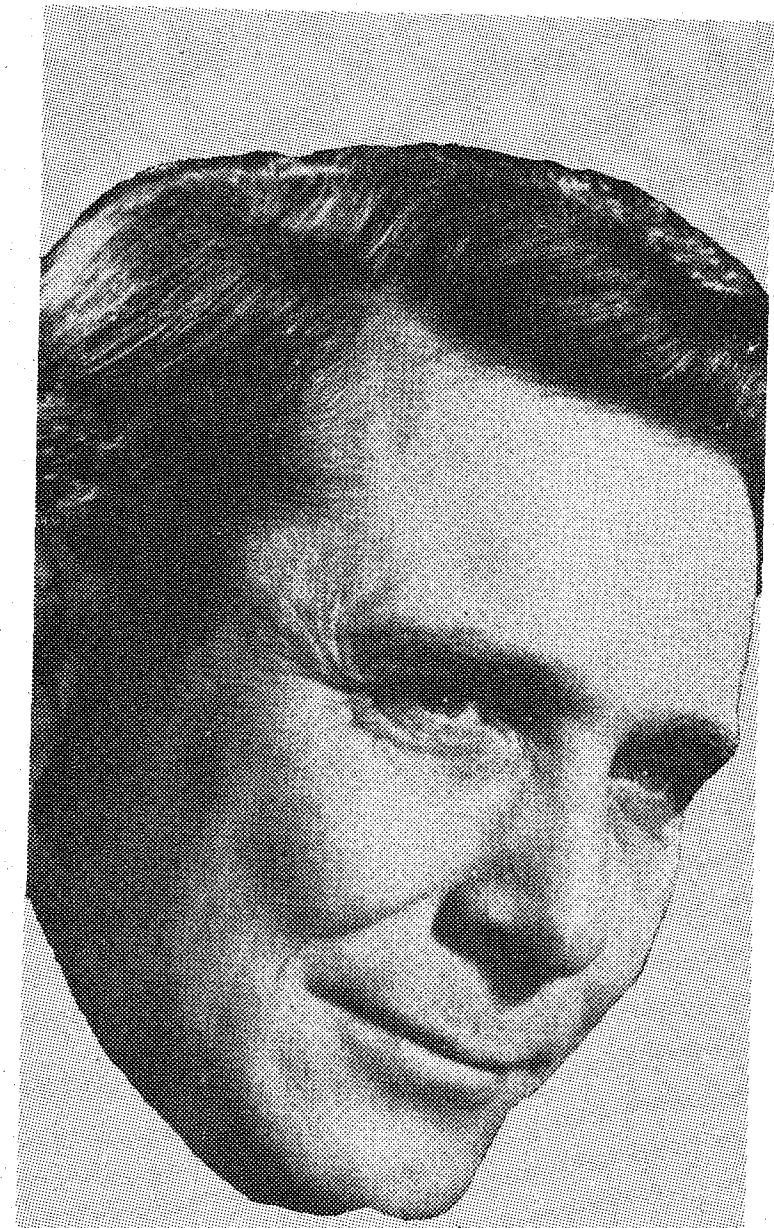
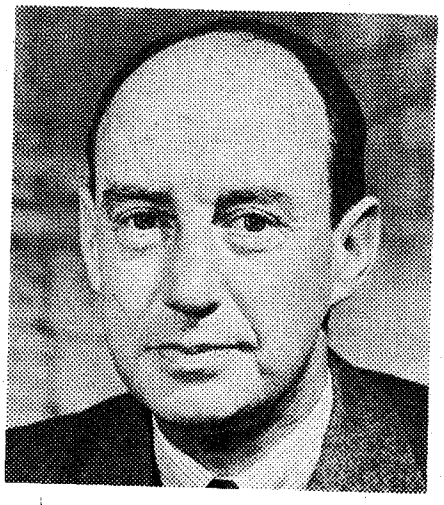
20c • AUGUST 31, 1953

Has War Lost Its Charm?

New Republic





THE FUTURE OF ADLAI STEVENSON

Can He Learn from the Fate of Willkie?

AUG 26 1953
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T. R. B. *Washington Wire*

Somehow it seemed a little unbelievable when Rep. W. Sterling Cole (R, N. Y.), the late Brien McMahon's successor as chairman of the Joint Congressional Atomic Energy Committee, casually reported that President Eisenhower and his top advisers were not particularly "alarmed" by confirmed news of the Soviet H-bomb. "Alarm," of course, is a strong word, and if all of us had weak nerves, people everywhere would exist in pandemic alarm. Still there is such a thing as being too careless about the atomic arms race, and too careless in accepting Central Intelligence assurances that "the United States is and will continue to be in a preeminent position" in both atom bomb and hydrogen bomb "developments." That's what Cole said our position was after his committee got briefings from the CIA.

As long ago as 1950 Senator McMahon was very much alarmed about the possible eventual results of the arms race and the emphasis of our foreign policy. In long, carefully prepared Senate speeches he revealed a lack of confidence in the "preeminence" of this country in atomic weapons. (What does "preeminent" mean, anyway—that we have a bigger stockpile or more "secrets" than the Soviets? And what about it, so long as the Soviets may assuredly get what they might consider "enough" secrets and "enough" atom devices to launch an attack?) McMahon didn't think that our "atomic lead," even in 1950, was sufficient to justify complacency about Soviet developments, nor about the increasing competitive pressure of the weapons race on both the Kremlin and the United States. He thought another major attempt should be made to crash the United Nations stalemate on armaments reduction and effective guarantees that commitments would be honored. He was profoundly convinced that we ought to put ourselves in a position to spend $50 billion for a tremendous worldwide Point Four program, to lift up the poverty-stricken, ill-educated, resentful, hungry masses, instead of spending $150 billion for arms.

McMahon couldn't get anywhere with Harry S. Truman in the White House and Dean Acheson in the State Department. Now that Ike is in the White House and the crafty John Foster Dulles in the State Department, W. Sterling Cole isn't even trying to get anywhere.

Both Russia and America now know how to blow each other to pieces, and there is no sign that the World War II slogan can be revised—"the bombers always get through." One would think that Mr. Cole would find it within his capacity at least to push the Administration for adequate public disclosures of what a Soviet H-bomb means. An intense moral and intellectual effort may be required of the people, a violent readjustment of political thinking. If no settlement with Russia is possible, an intense physical and financial effort may be required. But unless the government officially tells the people the facts, they cannot know.

The between-session pop-offs of various Senators, including Republican Majority Leader William Knowland, are clear warning that the President may face trouble next year on foreign policy issues.

Joe McCarthy waved atom bombs as threats to the "criminal Communists" in Red China. Sen. Lyndon Johnson of Texas, Democratic Leader, complained that our allies had not "co-operated" enough in the fighting and diplomacy involving Korea. Knowland had a press conference complaining—apparently with regret—that there wasn't any way to "throw Russia out of the UN." He repeated his croaking chorus that if Red China is "ever" admitted to UN membership, we should walk out.

When Ike fails to tame the ferocious tigers on his own Senatorial Republican team, he practically forces Democrats like Lyndon Johnson to mend their own political fences by talking tough about Russia and China. We will never get a world settlement this way. The President needs time to estimate events on the basis of the incomparable information available to him. He needs to plan wise, moderate, step-by-step approaches. He can't so long as Knowland and McCarthy walk and talk unleashed.

The "new look" at the Federal Power Commission will cost consumers of gas and electric power millions of dollars in rate increases—and the "new look" involved permanent major surgery, not just face-lifting. Only one FPC member is left who could be called mildly "pro-consumer." The other four members are "pro-producer"—that is, in favor of socking the consumer in accordance with last November's election.

Just last year the "old" FPC told two interstate gas pipeline companies that a profit rate of 5¾ percent or 5½ percent annually would be "fair, reasonable and adequate." Two commissioners who voted for these rates have directly reversed themselves. This year, in the Texas Gas Transmission Company case, a six-percent profit rate was adjudged "fair, reasonable and adequate." In the even more recent United Gas Fuel Company case the "fair, reasonable and proper" rate was jumped to 6½ percent. Democrat Dale Doty dissented on the latter issue, but Commissioners Nelson Lee Smith and Claude Draper switched in both cases from their 1952 positions.

Veteran staff members of the FPC are seething with indignation. But Ike's appointees to the full commission, who did not participate in the new decisions, are certain to follow the Smith-Draper 1953 line. They are Jerome Kuykendall of Washington, a protegé of the anti-public power Governor Arthur Langlie, and Seaborn Lee Digby of Louisiana, representing a gas-producing state.

Delighted pipeline and electric utility spokesmen are hailing the United Gas Fuel decision as ushering in a new epoch—at least as lush as the Harding-Coolidge-Hoover era.

The GOP drive to split labor politically is still booming. Steelworkers President David McDonald has been the only CIO leader invited for "dinner at the White House," and other union leaders invited include only such old-line Republicans as John L. Lewis and Dave Beck. McDonald has a new job on a Presidential advisory commission; the White House approach was direct to him rather than through the CIO.

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Noteworthy This Week

BEHIND THE HEADLINES

Going It Almost Alone

AFTER TWO WEEKS of heavy pressure Henry Cabot Lodge was able to boast that he had enough votes in the UN to keep India out of the political conference on Korea. Herblock's comment is printed on this page.

Asians trained to suspect the worst, concluded that the US was motivated by resentment against India's independent role. Our government's stand in fact was dictated by the conviction that India's presence at the conference (particularly in the form of her present spokesman Krishna Menon) would amount to an irresistible inducement to the Communists to throw every claim of China into the agenda, ruining all chance of an agreement on Korea.

This fear is probably justified. The real question is whether, with or without India, the Communists would not insist on broad discussions. If we have reason to hope that there is a fair chance of obtaining a Korean settlement by narrowing the discussion to Korea alone then we are right in fighting hard for participants who can bring a settlement about. Yet our officials frankly admit that the chances of a Korean settlement are extremely small.

The basis of a settlement is agreement on a form and manner of Korean unification. The Communists cannot settle for Rhee's proposal of free elections in North Korea to fill the 16 seats he has kept for Northern representatives in the National Assembly. Rhee in turn refuses (and with reason) to include Communists in a coalition cabinet, or concede their right to campaign as a legitimate party. Free national elections are no panacea, and no government for all Korea is in sight.

A second issue concerns the future role of China, Russia, and the West in Korea. As in Germany, if all foreign armies retire, the Communists will move back to nearby borders from which they struck at MacArthur while UN troops must withdraw first to Japan and—when the Japanese rearm—to the Marianas and the Philippines. To Rhee, a deadlock which leaves the UN troops to guard his soil is preferable to an agreement which moves them 1,500 miles.

If agreement on Korea is doubtful, then it ceases to be the sole, overriding objective. The larger objective, of maintaining the unity of the non-Communist world has plainly suffered by our stand. Lodge was able to declare that 20 nations were ready to go along with Eisenhower's position—they were 16 Latin American Republics, Turkey, Greece, Thailand and Chiang Kai-shek. Never in the history of the UN have we been so isolated. And the divisions seem likely to deepen, as the demand of Communist China to a UN seat is advanced with the growing support of the non-Communist nations.

Battle for Germany

THE SOVIET UNION has raised its bid for the support of the German people. Following the traditional condemnation of West Germany's present leaders the Kremlin offers to sponsor German unification, to provide economic assistance to East Germany, and to return the POW's.

By these moves Russia adheres to, and advances, the New Course policy established in June. That policy reaffirmed the basic objective of "building socialism" but slowed down the rate of Sovietization. It was interrupted by three unforeseen developments — the East Zone uprising, the US food program, and the allied proposals calling for a conference on German unification.

The first of these developments caused deep tremors in the Kremlin followed by East Zone purges. The second was a passing irritant; the third upset the Russian timetable. They blocked the July 15 proposal with an ambiguous reply. Then they released their own proposal, intended originally to be the first in the new propaganda campaign.

The new Soviet proposal states the opening position of the Kremlin in any conference on Germany. Reversing the allied plan, it provides for a peace treaty first, followed by elections under the sole supervision of a coalition government which is to be formed by negotiation between the West and East German regimes. This is a slight shift from the previous Soviet endorsement of free elections and indicates a loss of confidence on the Kremlin's part. However, the Kremlin's basic policy is evidently unchanged. It is ultimately to control Germany, currently to prevent West Germany's integration in the European Defense Community. The question has been what Russia would give up in the East Zone to prevent this integration. There is still no indication that she will give up anything.

Texas Test

THE VAST and unexplored subject of the loyalty of the dead has been officially unlocked by the State of Texas. A recent state law provides that the state Board of Education may not adopt or purchase any textbook until the author has filed with the Board an extensive loyalty oath. If perchance the author be "dead or unavailable," his publisher may execute an oath to that effect and then take another oath stating that "to the best of his information and belief the author of the textbook, if he were alive or available, could truthfully execute the oath."

But tender young Texans are not left

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at the mercy of naïve publishers who fail to appreciate all the sophisticated subtleties involved in McGuffey or a Shakespeare. The statute provides that the Board of Education may decline to accept the publisher's oath if it is not satisfied that the author really was or would be loyal. *Sic transit gloria* Texas.

Iran—No Change

FOR MORE THAN two years in Iran, the means by which an orderly change of government could be effected were systematically paralyzed by Dr. Mohammed Mossadegh. But, at the same time, Mossadegh was pushing the nation into a choice between him and the Shah. The choice was made. Gen. Fazlallah Zahedi is now Premier and Iran now has a government in which the Premier and the Shah are in accord.

Yet most of the old problems remain unsolved. The Shah probably could not have won without the passive support of an old enemy: Ayatollah Kashani, popular religious and political leader. After Kashani failed to conquer Mossadegh in the streets and in Parliament, the opposition grouped around Zahedi. To Kashani, stymied as long as Mossadegh held power, Zahedi probably seems a weaker opponent. It is unlikely that he will long remain an ally of the Shah.

The Tudeh (Communist) Party remains a threat. It will probably receive some rough treatment under the new regime, but both Kashani and the forces behind Zahedi have in the past been willing to work with the Tudeh for political advantage. The political opportunism shared by both men is indicated by their pro-Nazi activities during World War II. A showdown seems inevitable, and the Tudeh will know how to exploit it.

Hatred of England is as strong as ever in Iran. The first leader who attempts to bring moderation to the question of an oil settlement will be open to accusations of treachery. And since the West now has substitute oil sources, an oil settlement may now be postponed indefinitely. In the meantime, Iran's treasury is empty. The Shah has appealed for assistance "from anybody." It seems this nation will have to meet that appeal. Assistance, however, would be only a stop-gap measure. An oil settlement alone can counter Communist strategy in Iran.

The Soviet H-Bomb

THE FRAGMENTS of the atomic cloud that drifted beyond Russia's borders on August 12 confirmed that most Americans are suffering from complacency concerning Russia. [They include the *NR* editors who interpreted Malenkov's announcement to mean that Russia had produced tritium, but not an actual H-bomb.]

The Soviet bomb that was detonated on August 12 contained hydrogen elements. It was probably similar to the bomb the US exploded at Eniwetok in 1951 in which an atomic explosion set off the thermo-nuclear explosion. That is a very large bomb, certainly of more than 100 kilotons, and powerful enough to reduce to rubble all but the largest cities in the US. It confirms the conviction of most scientists that the Administration is gravely underestimating Soviet achievements in atomic weapons.

Lt. Gen. Willis Crittenberger (Ret'd.) concluded in a speech that the Soviet H-bomb compels us to undertake a real civil-defense program coupled with a new effort to achieve world control of atomic weapons. Few people seemed to be listening. The tendency of officials governed by inertia is still to ignore the Kremlin's proved capacity to produce in large amounts the materials for atomic and hydrogen bombs, and to claim that the Russians are coasting on the windfall gain of US secrets turned over by Fuchs, Pontecavo, Greenglass and the Rosenbergs. In the innermost recesses of the government some group may challenge this complacency, demanding a re-evaluation of our defense effort and a redistribution of funds from the Army and the Navy to the Air Force. As these men seek to stir to action the nation's number one golfer, they will have little help from an informed public opinion. The Atomic Energy Commissioners still refuse to discuss the Soviet bomb publicly. Rep. Sterling Cole (R, N.Y.), Chairman of the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy assures the nation that the US is preeminent in atomic bombs as in all things. To those who seek enlightenment Chairman Strauss sings solemnly, "Sit down, you're rocking the boat." His calmness equals Malenkov's who, in announcing the Soviet detonation of a hydrogen bomb, urged us to ignore this little incident.

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McCarthy's Schuh

MATT SCHUH was president of the Appleton State Bank in Appleton, Wisconsin, for several years prior to 1952. During that time he was instrumental in making various bank loans totaling $248,000 to Senator McCarthy. These loans, said the Senate Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections, "were used for speculation in securities and the collateral, for the greater part, consisted of securities purchased with the borrowed funds." According to the now-famous report of that subcommittee, "the loan to Joseph R. McCarthy was in excess of $100,000, the loan limitation of the Appleton State Bank, and in violation of the Wisconsin bank statutes. . . . It was under-collateralized by the terms of Federal Reserve Board Regulation "U," which provided a margin requirement of 50 percent or greater at all times between February 5, 1945, and the present time." But Wisconsin banking authorities flatly denied that the bank violated any state laws relative to the McCarthy loans. As a result, Democratic state legislators asked for an investigation of the state banking department, a request that died for lack of action.

A footnote to the Matt Schuh story, though unrelated to the McCarthy transactions, appeared recently in a court in Appleton. The Appleton State Bank and two private estates brought suit against Schuh for $90,000, alleging illegal stock and cash manipulations. The bank charged that Schuh had misappropriated certain employee bonuses, interest payments and certificates of deposit, while the private estates complained that he illegally acquired certain stock shares from them. Said Schuh's attorney, "We're going to prove that all the allegations are false, period."

Housing "Subversives"

A PROVISION in last year's Independent Offices Appropriations Act bars any "member of an organization designated as subversive by the Attorney General" from occupying any housing unit constructed with federal funds under the Federal Housing Act. Sponsored by Rep. Ralph W. Gwinn (R) of New York, this provision was inserted to embarrass the public-housing program. Had Congress taken time to debate and inquire into this bit of legislative sport, the obvious Constitutional defects would have been immediately apparent. But it slipped through virtually unnoticed. And so it has been left to the courts to give voice to the Bill of Rights.

That voice was heard with unmistakable clarity recently in New York. To implement the Gwinn provision, the New York State Housing Authority had adopted a resolution requiring all occupants to sign certificates of non-membership in the designated subversive organizations. The court held both the Gwinn provision and the Housing Authority's resolution unconstitutional.

In the words of the court:

Obviously the government is under no duty to provide low-rent housing accommodations for its citizens. However, if it elects to do so, it cannot arbitrarily prevent any of its citizens from enjoying these statutorily created privileges. Nor can it make the privilege of their continuance dependent upon conditions which would deprive any of its citizens of their Constitutional rights.

But the last judicial word has yet to be spoken. At least nine other suits have been filed in New York, New Jersey, Illinois, California and Colorado to test the validity of Gwinn's folly. In one of those cases, a Chicago court without written opinion has held that the Chicago Housing Authority has the right to enforce the Gwinn provision. Hence it appears likely that only the Supreme Court can finally resolve the issue. But the well-reasoned New York decision gives substantial hope that the Bill of Rights will emerge triumphant.

GOP Mink Coats

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER signed Senate Bill 1152 despite protests from Republican Sen. John J. Williams of Delaware that in effect it set up a "Republican Fur Corporation" and would invite furious public criticism.

The bill was one of the relatively modest "give-aways" approved by the recent Congress. It extended a 1946 program originally intended to bail out domestic "fur ranchers" who were hurt by heavy postwar imports of furs from the Soviet Union.

The difference was that the extension law was intended to bail out only those fur ranchers—producers of mink, silver fox, etc.—who were already delinquent on loans from the government. Williams charged in a Senate floor speech that two-thirds of the loans in Colorado would go to four producers, one of whom is delinquent on a previous $122,000 loan, that in Wisconsin four-fifths of the money would go to one fur producer.

Williams, who made a reputation exposing Democratic tax scandals, reminded his colleagues that the Democrats had set a "rather disagreeable example" in mink-coat scandals, and warned that if the GOP kept on subsidizing fur ranchers his party might "wind up with a large inventory of furs" and get caught, like the Democrats, in a grateful "distribution scheme."

French Tact In Morocco

LAST DECEMBER, the French banished most Moroccan nationalist leaders to the Sahara Desert. They are still there under heavy guard. Now the French have deposed Sidi Mohammed Youssef, Sultan of Morocco and symbolic leader of the nationalist movement. Youssef refused to sign a series of French "reforms" which would have given French settlers a still more direct and disproportionate influence over Moroccan affairs. The new Sultan, El Glaoui, is the leader of the Moroccan feudal lords kept in power by the French. These pashas and kaids, like the French, see the nationalist movement as a threat to their authority.

The dismissal of a king is in the best colonial tradition. Arab and Asian nations have protested the action and have asked the UN Security Council to investigate it as a "danger to international peace and security." The US, in the middle of a campaign to gain the friendship of the Arab world, will have to stand up and be counted for or against such tactics. The dilemma is not new. Last year we abstained from voting on a similar request concerning Tunisia. The vote did not satisfy France, and the Moslem world interpreted it as support for Colonialism. Even if the Arab-Asian request is defeated at the Security Council it will be brought up before the General Assembly. Sooner or later, it seems, this nation will have to take a definite stand against such actions or abandon a propaganda campaign which labels us hypocrites.

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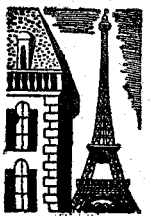
Paris Dispatch: THE "GREAT DIVIDE"

The political face of Western Europe is being changed—and definitely *not* lifted—while the still preponderantly democratic majorities among the peoples, especially in Great Britain and France, await the kind of firm and clear US leadership in joint Western policy which they can—and will—follow. The break in Italian governmental continuity and the ever more confused flux in the French political situation are symptoms of a deeper and broader malaise. Exploitation of East German unrest on behalf of the propaganda of satellite liberation is useful so far as it goes. But most Western Europeans are doubtful whether it goes in the right direction.

If US leadership is to be accepted by the peoples of Western Europe, there has to be greater agreement on the relationship between the past and the future, and also on what past and what future are to be considered in the making of common policy. In this connection, some Western Europeans are beginning to believe that if the two proposed international conferences are held—with Russia on Germany and with Communist China on Korea—they may serve an extremely useful purpose. They may be what a French diplomat has already called "successful failures."

Very few persons over here count on anything but failure in regard to the agenda of the two conferences. There is too great a gap between the tight, preconceived and prejudged conceptions of the State Department and the wide-open, ambiguous and deliberately vague ideas of the Russians as exemplified in the answer to the note on the big-four foreign ministers conference. It is too much to expect that the truce in Korea may be the preface to truce in the European Cold War. But if failure to make notable progress toward distension at the meetings with the Russians and the Communist Chinese serves nevertheless during the discussions to clarify the new directions of US policy in Europe and Asia, that can amount to a success, at least in preventing further worsening in the foreign-policy relations between the US and its major allies.



For there is fear over here that after the East German uprisings and the truce in Korea, US policy may be approaching a watershed—a "great divide" beyond which Britain and France may have difficulty in maintaining close co-operation. The source of the change seems to lie not only in Moscow and Peking, in East Berlin and Seoul; it also lies in Washington—in the Washington of Senator Knowland and Admiral Radford. The danger to the Atlantic Alliance—and to any Pacific grouping in process of becoming—comes only partly from the machinations of the Soviet world; it also comes from the effect of new US policy reorientations.

Up until very recently the controversies between Britain and the Eisenhower Administration on policy toward China, and between France and the administration on policy toward Germany, have primarily involved methods and approaches in the relatively short-term context of Cold War. There has been irritation over the tendency of General Eisenhower and Secretary Dulles to talk both to the US public and to favorite sons abroad in a language different from the one used to America's major allies, and often over the heads or behind the backs of those allies. There has also been discontent that the President—in his letter to Konrad Adenauer—and the Secretary—in some of his statements to or about Syngman Rhee—should have seemed to be pontificating *urbi et orbi* on matters which ordinarily require prior consultation.

Nevertheless the President has been given credit for being a sincere internationalist honestly concerned with respecting the views of London and Paris. It has been considered a proof of his good intentions that he was able during his first 200 days in office to "contain" the demands of the ex-isolationist ultra-nationalists on Capitol Hill for an absolutely "free hand" for a US policy that would not hesitate to smack down the allies. Reviews in the best English and French newspapers of what Eisenhower had done in this respect tended to be complimentary.

Thanks to him, it was said, all that the "new nationalists" wanted was that the US should be less controlled in her foreign policy by her allies than she was under President Truman. The only strong demand during the session was that US power and wealth, in terms of dollars and military aid sent abroad, should warrant the US having the "dominant say" in the free world counsels.

But the atmosphere of tolerant appreciation has changed as reports arrive of the intentions of Admiral Arthur W. Radford. Now the question is whether US policy toward Asia will be based on Radford's (reported) theory that Communist China must not be permitted to develop peacefully into a highly centralized and industrialized nation. In Europe, the question is whether it will be long-term US policy to help rebuild Germany as the master of the continent.

The British believe that the Chinese—of Peking as well as of Formosa—hate the Russians only slightly less than they do the Americans and all other foreigners. The link between Peking and Moscow, strong at present, may well weaken. And the link between Seoul and Washington may have a similar fate. For the British, the rise of Communist China to power is a fact which must be accepted, while getting as high a price as possible for permanent free world security for the acceptance.

Similarly, the French cannot forget that the uprising against Soviet power came from the same Prussian sources that had powered Germany's drive for European mastery since Bismarck's day. For the French, the fear that US policy is bent on helping Germany makes real co-operation impossible.

These differences affect the very nature of the free world, and its inner and outer boundaries. There can be no real and lasting co-operation for the long pull so long as Britain accepts, and the US seems totally to reject, the rise of Communist China to a dominant position on the Asian continent, so long as the US accepts, and France seems totally to reject, the return of Germany to a dominant position on the European continent. The two international conferences, if they are held, can, however, explore the possibility of finding middle ground between the US and its two allies. Or they can show the price of the absolutely "free hand" is the single hand.

Paris FRANK GORRELL

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A JOURNAL OF OPINION New Republic

Editorial Has War Lost Its Charm?

FOR THE FIRST TIME, in the Franco-Prussian War of 1872, two armies faced each other with rifled breech-loaders in place of the old smooth-bore flint-lock muskets. Friedrich Engels, the co-founder of Marxism and a keen military analyst, at once concluded that war had become so frightful and so costly as to be unbearable.

"In the Franco-Prussian War," wrote Engels in *Anti-Duhring,* "a turning point appears of an entirely different meaning from all earlier wars. In the first place the weapons are so perfected that further progress of any sort of revolutionary influence is no longer possible. . . . And secondly this war had compelled all the large continental armies to adopt a military burden which is bound to ruin them in a few years. . . . "

To clinch his argument Engels cited that "invulnerable monster," the battleship of 1878. "The modern battleship," he wrote, "is a gigantic, armored screw-driven steamer of 8,000 to 9,000 tons carrying capacity . . . a single colossal machine costing as much as previously an entire small fleet did. . . . " So, "Militarism collapses from the consequences of its own development."

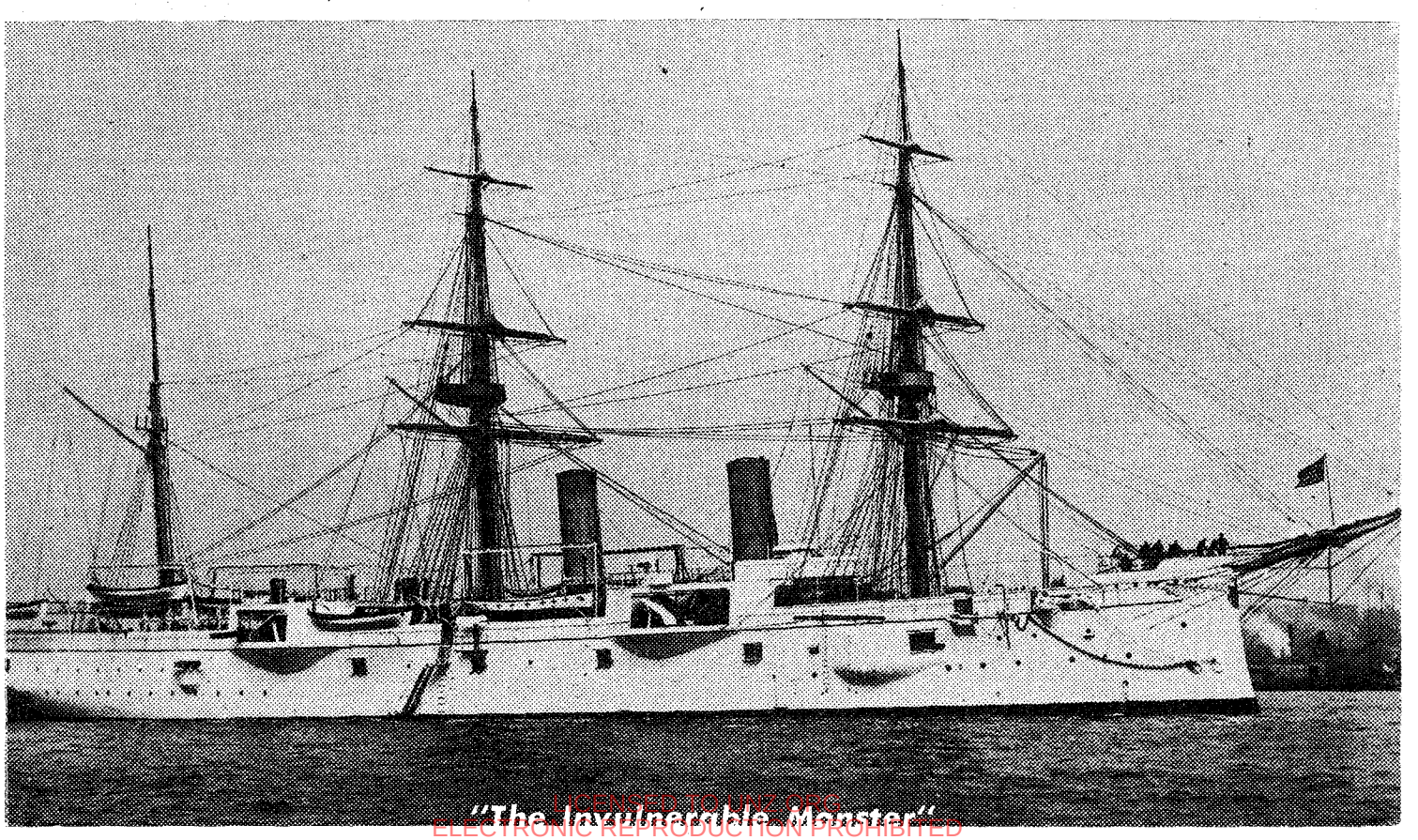
As a Marxist, no doubt Engels was shortsighted; as a man, surely he was right. He could not foresee that the capitalist and Communist nations would be forced to endure side by side; he could not conceive that both sides would accumulate hydrogen bombs, each possessing more destructive power than all the guns fired in the Franco-Prussian War. Yet he sensed that progress in weapons made war obsolete.

Are the heirs of Marx and Engels too blinded by doctrine to grasp what Engels dimly understood? From the first to the last the Kremlin has minimized the destructive power of atomic bombs, perhaps as a silent acknowlegdment that atomic warfare is irreconcilable with the traditional Marxist endorsement of war as an instrument of revolutionary policy. Preparing for war, it rests its plea for the control of atomic weapons on a pact with no enforcement powers. Lenin, we recall, instructed his followers that "peace pacts lay the foundations of war."

How can Malenkov hold that an atomic attack serves the interests of the proletariat, and so defend Lenin's assertion that "if the war serves the interest of the proletariat . . . such a war is progressive irrespective of the victims and the suffering it entails."

Engels, the master and not the slave of doctrine, noted that when armies were trained in street-fighting, revolutions of the 1848 variety became outmoded. "The barricades," he wrote, "have lost their charms."

Confronted with the hydrogen bomb, would not Engels conclude that war cannot be the means of settling the conflict between Communism and Democracy?



"The Invulnerable Master"

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Report To Stevenson

I. The Democrats—An Army Disperses

by Helen Fuller

GOVERNOR, as you listen to the cheers of those who welcome you home, spare one moment to remember another brave and brilliant world traveler—Wendell Willkie. Do you remember the enthusiasm of Willkie's admirers as he returned from his post-1940 world tour and set out to give strong leadership to his kind of Republicans? Great crowds met him wherever he went, and when the test came, he fell because his party's organization leaders were not behind him.

The men and the time—and the party problems—are, of course, not similar. The tendency for party regulars to band together against newcomers and nonconformers, however, remains just as strong as it was in 1944.

Watch out for the knives.

The leaders of the Democratic Party are coming to their September 14 meeting with you in Chicago in a "show us" spirit. All the elements with which you as head of the party must contend will be represented there: the Senators—who are the natural centers of power of any party in opposition; the National Committeemen and Committeewomen—who speak with the delegate strength of their respective states; the city leaders—whose poor showing last year has made them defensive; the active political workers without portfolio—who give the party its character and its fire power; your National Chairman, Vice-Chairman and hand-picked staff—who are trying to give the party direction; the ex-President and much of his ex-cabinet—who still assume that authority in party affairs is their prerogative.

A large number of these guiding lights of the Democratic Party wish you well. Most of them are frankly skeptical that you can be an active political leader for the next two years and 10 months without antagonizing some group essential to the winning of the Presidential nomination again in 1956. All of them are assuming that you want that nomination and are reckoning their own self-interest in those terms.

There will be no chance for you to function as a disembodied conscience of the party, for the race for the 1956 nomination is already on.

Two of the unsuccessful candidates for the nomination in 1952 are reported to be cultivating new friends by contributing to party deficits in some of the poorer Western states. Truman's former aide, Clark Clifford, who backed Oklahoma Sen. Robert Kerr in 1952, is at work pointing out the merits of the millionaire oilman again, and there will be cash to help get this point across. Estes Kefauver's national ambitions are foregone only until he can win re-election to the Senate in '54. Michigan's Governor G. Mennen Williams has determined to gamble on trying to unseat Senator Homer Ferguson next year in order to advance a step up the ladder toward 1956. Averell Harriman has not been the same since his debut in Chicago last summer. His sponsors dream of a Harriman ascent via the magic New York Governor's chair.

If James A. Farley succeeds former Boss Ed Flynn as National Committeeman for New York, the old kingmaker, with that large bloc of party votes, will re-emerge as one of the truly powerful figures in the party.

STUART SYMINGTON

The most impressive opening move by far, however, is by Missouri Sen. Stuart Symington. He is dynamic and powerful. He has done a remarkable amount of careful planning and organization for so early in the season. And he has one characteristic Americans respond to in Presidential candidates—he wants the job. Stevenson supporters—and there are many—may look on these contenders for the 1956 nomination as trespassers on your property. That is natural, and wrong. Every one of these men has earned the right to be a contender, and each has the right to fight for the nomination with all the powers he can command.

The 1954 Congressional elections provide the trial heats. A final advantage lies with whoever holds control of the party chairmanship and the organizational machinery which goes with it, and is thus able to communicate his point of view and build up his allies.

A conservative group which is gathering around Stuart Symington has its eye on both targets. Its principal strategists are Senate Minority Leader Lyndon Johnson of Texas; the Democratic Whip, Earle Clements of Kentucky; the leader of the Southern bloc, Sen. Richard Russell of Georgia; and Leslie L. Biffle, the former Secretary of the Senate and politician's politician, long close to Truman, who ran the campaign which almost won Alben Barkley the nomination in 1952. Their immediate instrument is the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee for 1954 of which Clements is Chairman, Biffle secretary-treasurer and Symington finance director.

The Senatorial Campaign Committee is normally of secondary importance to the Democratic National Committee. The Symington-Biffle combination assumes that next year will be different. Biffle hand-picked for the Committee such vigorous and articulate young Senators as Mike Monroney, Albert Gore, George Smathers, John Kennedy and Russell Long, who will be effective speakers to send out across the country. Symington should have no trouble raising a substantial campaign fund. It may save many hard-pressed candidates. It will create a web of political indebtedness in return.

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National Chairman Stephen Mitchell, on the other hand, is struggling along with a quarter-of-a-million-dollar deficit, unable to raise funds rapidly enough to meet current minimum expenses. There is every appearance that a boycott by the customary sources of regular party contributions is under way. The skeleton staff which the National Committee is able to maintain under these conditions will not be able to meet the requests for assistance which will pour in as the '54 campaign gets under way.

Old hands among the Democrats believe that the results in '54 will be pleasing. In spite of Eisenhower's continued personal popularity, these prophets think that Republican blunders are rousing significant dissatisfaction. Farmers are grumbling; small businessmen and even small bankers are complaining about the "hard money" pinch; Southerners, watching cotton prices drop, are wondering why they ever liked Ike. Republican Governors at the recent Governor's Conference worried openly about the outlook for the GOP in '54 with no Eisenhower coat-tails on which to ride.

Under the circumstances, the Senatorial Campaign Committee will stand to gain whatever glory and gratitude flows from Democratic successes next year. The professionals, however, will not be content with that.

STEPHEN MITCHELL

The man you selected to serve as Democratic National Chairman has been under fire from every side during your absence. All new chairmen are. But Steve Mitchell has been in double jeopardy as the first non-professional ever to hold the job. Every pro in the Congress or in a state organization was forced, in the nature of things, to deny the possibility that an amateur could run the party. Corrupt men in the machines writhe in the presence of his obvious integrity.

But those who welcomed clean new management for the party also criticize Mitchell's performance. They doubt that he is distinguishing finely enough between conciliation and appeasement of the right-wing Southerners and they fear that his decision to "integrate" the Women's Division into the general committee operation will result in interment of the women's program. His inexperience irks the impatient.

But Mitchell has gone doggedly about the task of rebuilding the party structure. His tirelessness and sincerity are winning him friends, particularly in the West where Democrats usually make up their own minds without listening to their leaders. But the powers in the party want him out. If a move to oust Mitchell is not attempted in the National Committee on September 15, it will be later. For his tenure is inevitably linked in the party mind with your candidacy, and the other candidates will be bent on taking over this spot from which to control arrangements for the national convention, the choice of presiding officers, the speakers—all the details which can shape the final result.

Your ability to prevent such a coup is doubted. Knowledgeable politicians estimate that if a showdown over the choice of a chairman were forced in the National Committee now, the 104 members would divide in terms of basic loyalty about as follows:

The Southern bloc (followers of Russell, Kerr, and Johnson) 30, Truman 20-25, Stevenson 15, Kefauver 10 and independents 20-25.

There is agitation to seize the chairmanship now coming from disgruntled Trumanites, led by former White House Press Secretary Matthew Connolly and the last of Truman's national chairmen, Frank McKinney, still indignant at the precipitate manner in which you removed him. Those who oppose Connolly are not for Mitchell. They argue: let Mitchell wear himself out raising the funds to get the Committee out of debt and allow the potential combinations for '56 to become clearer—and then remove him.

GIVEN TIME and your assistance, the present regime may successfully defend itself against attack. But the new organizational approach your followers are taking requires a long while to show results. There are encouraging reports that the new faces and enthusiasm which you attracted to the party in the last election have taken form in a growing number of political clubs and ward organizations. And as you travel about the country helping to elect the candidates who will surely demand your aid next year, these new leaders will be supported, more of this new vitality will develop and the task of replacing the old-style organizations with a new type will be speeded. Valuable time and energy may have been lost by the disbanding of the Volunteers for Stevenson and the Stevenson-Sparkman Clubs. For the idealists among their members who tried to carry on their new political interest by working with the regular party organization have often found it impossible. The new program of Congressional District Forums being promoted by Mitchell for discussion of the issues should attract some of these people back if Congressmen cooperate in their establishment.

But this radical modernizing of political organization is not the job of a single year. It obviously will amount to nothing unless the chairmanship can be kept in continuity in hands which will respect and protect the experiment against the ire of those old-timers who are challenged in the upsurge.

This will be your job. It is not an impossible one. Lord Bryce explained why: "I doubt if there is any country," he wrote about America in 1893, "where a really brilliant man, confident in his own strength, and adding the charm of a striking personality to the gift of popular eloquence, would find an easier path to fame and power, and would exert more influence over the minds and emotions of the multitude. Such a man, speaking to the people with the independence of conscious strength, would find himself appreciated and respected."

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II. Chicago – the Machine Has Run Down

by Albert N. Votaw

WHEN ADLAI STEVENSON returns to Chicago his most immediate task will be to subdue a rebellious minority of hard-hitting conservatives from the city's Southwest Side wards. Their goal is the elimination of men like himself and US Sen. Paul Douglas, up for re-election in 1954.

Stevenson's allies, the present party leadership, may be more of a liability than an asset, for the party leaders identified with Stevenson's phenomenal rise last year have managed to empty the reservoir of good will left them by the aging and ailing Jake Arvey, former Cook County Democratic chairman.

Arvey first established the policy of winning with good candidates when it became apparent that party hacks could not survive the hostility of the voters. By persuading the late Mayor Ed Kelly to step down in 1947, he saved city hall for the Democrats. In the following year Stevenson and Douglas claimed Illinois for the party. When Stevenson went on to lead the national ticket, the machine carried Chicago by a greatly reduced margin but lost Cook County. The GOP swept state offices.

The 1952 election decapitated the Democratic organization. Arvey, whose enthusiasm for men of Stevenson's calibre was not shared by his successors, retired. Other potential party leaders had been defeated for office. The only major Democratic officeholder, Chicago's affable and ineffectual Mayor Martin Kennelly, is numbed by an inability to take firm action for fear of hurting someone's feelings.

The only group to show determination and energy in the face of this paralysis has been the rebellious conservative minority. It was lead by Thomas D. Nash, a ward committeeman and distant relative of the late Pat Nash of Chicago's famed Kelly-Nash machine. It was represented in the city council by Clarence Wagner, chairman of the Finance Committee until his death in an automobile accident. The conservatives made a major bid for power when they pressed their candidate, James McDermott, for election as county chairman of the party. He was just beaten by Richard Daley, candidate of the present leadership. Aside from resisting this rebellion by the old-fashioned regulars, the leadership has done nothing to revitalize the party. Even such a simple task as turning out the faithful for a $100 a plate dinner strains their capacities.

Albert N. Votaw is a writer who specializes in reporting Chicago politics.

Stevenson, then, faces a most unhappy situation. The organization men, with whose leadership he is associated, are inert. The liberals too have become increasingly restive. Their main complaint is the opposition of Democrats to local reform.

In fact, during the last session of the state legislature, Republican voices became identified with reform. It was in fact the Republican Governor, William Stratton, who pushed through a long-overdue reapportionment bill, cutting down over-representation from the rural downstate areas. (This measure, which must still face a voter referendum, was the first such since 1890.) Two further reforms recommended by Stratton would have consolidated the state judicial system and amended Chicago's antiquated city charter by cutting down the number of aldermen and strengthening the powers of the Mayor.

Both were defeated by a combination of Democrats and downstate Republicans angered by losing their unconstitutional majority in the state assembly. The sight of Chicago Democrats lining up solidly against a proposal to strengthen an office they control was memorable. Democratic legislators elected with liberal support followed their party's leadership on these critical votes.

THERE IS A possibility that in 1954 liberals will be asked to choose between repudiating reform or else bolting to the GOP in local elections. They in turn may urge Stevenson to clean up the party and support the reform elements. This would mean election of a genuine reform mayor in 1955 and, incidentally, the destruction of the present Chicago Democratic machine. The example of Philadelphia is referred to with increasing frequency here. Regrettably, it is hardly a case in point. Corruption in Chicago is Democratic. No one has yet been able to figure out a way of wrecking a corrupt machine in a local election and then reviving it in time to carry through for liberal-supported candidates for Congress.

Furthermore, the reform issue may drive a wedge between the liberal and labor components of the pro-Democratic and pro-Stevenson coalition. In Chicago liberals traditionally seek good government, while many trade union leaders are content with a friendly administration: the two are not always synonymous. Trade union leaders are unlikely to view favorably any attempt at reform which would jeopardize their chances of electing pro-labor Congressmen in 1954.

Stevenson, then, faces a situation upon his return that might well make him wish he had never left East Berlin.

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III. Springfield: Big Shoes—Middle-sized Man

by Gerard A. Robichaux

WILLIAM STRATTON

WHEN ADLAI STEVENSON announced in January, 1952, that he would seek to succeed himself as Governor of Illinois, he added this challenge:

> I invite the Republican Party to nominate the best man it can find. It is of little importance whether the next Governor of Illinois is named Adlai Stevenson; but it is of the highest importance that he finish what we have started. No matter then who loses, the people will win. That is the kind of election Illinois needs and deserves.

It is no secret that among the Republicans vying for the gubernatorial nomination in a wide-open primary, Stevenson considered 38-year-old William Grant Stratton the most unsuitable of the lot. But Stratton went on to win the primary easily and then was elected Governor through a combination of factors—the Eisenhower landslide, a little-known and late-starting Democratic opponent who substituted for Stevenson, and his own capacity to shake every hand within reach in Illinois.

Stratton's entire approach to politics is perhaps best illustrated by his attitude toward the handshake. "You grab first," says Stratton, "otherwise you may get your hand broken." His success in Illinois cannot be attributed solely to the practical application of that policy, but it has certainly helped.

Revulsion against the scandals of the Republican regime of Dwight Green had carried Stevenson to Springfield in 1948. In the four years that he occupied the executive mansion, Stevenson's accomplishments were substantial and steady. He greatly increased the moral tone of the executive department, made good headway in government reorganization. He launched programs to improve the state's welfare services, mental hospitals, schools and state-supported colleges. He established a program to modernize Illinois' highway system.

For key policy-making posts Stevenson selected the best men possible. At the same time he set out to improve and strengthen civil service. In retrospect—and by comparison with Stratton's record to date—Stevenson's greatest accomplishment may well have been his personal policies.

It is too early to determine how many of the reforms that Stevenson started, Stratton will finish. But even this early the record is clear that some portions of the Stevenson program of progress are in jeopardy. It is equally clear that on the matter of key executive appointments Stratton quite obviously does not measure up to Stevenson.

Yet Stratton has confounded some of his critics by adopting a seemingly firm and courageous stand in at least one area considered alien to his nature and instincts. Early in the 1953 session Stratton let it be known he faced, as Stevenson had done, a series of bills, introduced by State Senator Paul W. Broyles and backed by the American Legion, which would have ushered in an era of loyalty oaths, captive education, and unprecedented witch-hunting in Illinois. They were virtually the same measures which Stevenson vetoed two years ago and Stratton in turn let it be known that he would follow Stevenson's example.

The key Broyles bill, patterned after Maryland's Ober Law (which in turn was patterned after Illinois sedition statutes dating back to 1919), had been revived at the outset of this year's legislative session. The Senate approved the measure and the companion bill to set up a "little un-American activities committee" under Broyles. Stratton's opposition to both Broyles bills was enough to block House approval of the resolution to set up the Broyles investigating commission. And the key Broyles bill was watered down considerably in the hope of meeting Stratton's objections to the bill. The House passed the diluted measure and the Senate concurred. But when it went to Stratton's desk he vetoed it. His veto message was not all that a liberal would ask for nor did it concern itself with some of the deep constitutional questions raised by the legislation. Stratton said he was vetoing the measure with "regret" because the burden it would place on the state in administering and supervising the loyalty-oath procedures would be disproportionate to the dangers which it sought to avert. While he may have done the right thing for the wrong reasons, the fact remains that the right thing was done.

What caused perhaps even more dismay among Stratton's reactionary backers was the Governor's initial support of FEPC legislation. But as business and some labor pressures against the anti-discrimination bill mounted, Stratton wavered. On the final tally, when the Senate killed off the measure, only one of Stratton's fellow Republicans voted for the bill. Had he really cracked the whip, Stratton might well have changed the result.

But on the credit side he was able to clear through the state legislature a proposed constitutional amend-

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ment for reapportionment of legislative districts that would give Chicago and Cook County an equitable voice in the General Assembly, which has been under the domination of the more lightly populated downstate area since 1910. Similarly, Stratton managed, where Stevenson failed, to win enactment of a considerably improved mine-safety law.

Stratton's greatest failure so far centers in his attempt to cut government spending while still maintaining essential public services. Like President Eisenhower, the Governor has found out that it is easier to promise economy in a campaign November than to provide it in a post-election June. Stratton's budget is in the vicinity of $1.5 billion for the next two years, some $79 million more than Stevenson's last budget. But to keep it within even that range, Stratton ordered deep cuts in welfare, health and higher educational functions of the state—much in the same manner of the Eisenhower Administration.

About 40 percent of all the money appropriated for the operation of departments and agencies under the Governor of Illinois is spent for mental institutions and mental-health services. On November 30, 1951, Stevenson had told the National Association for Mental Health:

> One of the things of which I have been most proud during the last three years is the increase both in the professional and in the non-professional staffs of our mental institutions. Tragically understaffed before, we cannot get the personnel we need, but we are far better off than we were, with an increase of some 500 men and women on the staffs of our mental hospitals.
>
> Even in these days of improved public vigilance about government spending, there has been nothing but commendation for these sorely needed additions to our hospital staffs. And I think this is due in considerable part to the greater understanding . . . of our needs and the long-term economy in better care and treatment of our patients.

Whatever the gain under Stevenson, the mental-health program has suffered under Stratton. The appropriation for the care of the mentally ill and other state wards—some 50,000 people in all—was his first target. As against minimum estimates of $124 million to run these institutions, Stratton recommended a cut of $7.2 million. If allowed to stand it will in the end cripple Stevenson's program of steady improvement of the state's welfare institutions and ignore the plight of thousands of helpless people. But public indignation, aroused in part by some of the state's leading newspapers, including the Chicago *Sun-Times* and Chicago *Daily News*, has caused Stratton to retreat. The budget has been revised to shift $4 million, originally earmarked mostly for food, to the personnel fund. For the moment more money will be available to maintain doctors, nurses, attendants and therapists. But when the state legislature meets again in 1955 there will have to be a substantial deficiency appropriation to take care of the food and equipment funds and, presumably, to maintain the personnel rolls at the level finally sanctioned by Stratton.

This type of financial sharp practice by Stratton has its counterpart in his effort to repay certain trucking interests which backed him in the race for Governor. A Stratton-backed bill, which has now cleared the legislature, will relieve truckers of $14 to $17 million scheduled license-fee increases. Stevenson had pushed through a $28 million truck-fee increase in 1951 aimed to divide evenly between truckers and passenger-car owners the cost of maintaining and building highways. The Stratton measure lifts part of the trucker's liability at the expense of the passenger-car operators. Stratton's excuse for the legislation is the $14 to $17 million loss will largely be made up from increasing truck registrations and other changes in the fee structure. To which the logical question has been asked—why not take the $14 to $17 million anyway and use it to speed up the highway building program? There has been no adequate answer from Stratton.

STRATTON HAS BROKEN with Stevenson's record in appointing to top state posts political creditors rather than the best-qualified men. For example, he named as state insurance director Robert E. Barrett, brother of George F. Barrett, the Attorney General during the Dwight Green regime. George Barrett was accused in a lawsuit of using his high office to conspire with Robert and two other defendants to coerce the founder of the Providence Life Insurance Company into turning control of the firm over to them. A unanimous three-man US Circuit Court of Appeals conviction held that the "defendants must concede they entered into a conspiracy to deprive plaintiff of his property." At this point in the legal proceedings the Barrett brothers and their co-defendants settled the case out of court. In his new post Robert Barrett is in a position to punish firms competing with Providence Life, which is still largely under control of his family—although he personally has divested himself of his holdings.

To succeed Stevenson's nationally known director of public welfare, Fred K. Hoehler, Stratton selected Dr. Otto L. Bettag. As medical superintendent of Chicago's Municipal Tuberculosis Sanitarium, Dr. Bettag had done an outstanding job. In his new post, however, he has lacked the will to save the mental hospitals from crippling budget cuts.

Joseph Lohman, a University of Chicago professor recognized throughout the country as an outstanding criminologist and authority on race-relations problems, was let out of his post as chairman of the state Parole Board by Stratton. Stratton replaced Lohman, a Stevenson appointee, with Victor I. Knowles, an unknown downstate newspaper publisher who was a faithful Stratton supporter.

Only two of Stratton's top appointments have won widespread praise for meeting the Stevenson test. They are Jesse L. Simpson, a former state Supreme Court justice, and George R. Perrine, an Aurora banker,

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who were named to the Illinois Commerce Commission.

But, then, Stratton's nature is such that he likes to run a one-man show. He is unwilling to delegate authority or to allow patronage matters to get out of his own hands. Throughout his political career he has been a lone wolf, as often as not running in opposition to Republican-machine candidates. His two consistent allies have been Perrine and William A. (Smoky) Downey, a personable, high-pressure publicist now serving as Stratton's chief administrative assistant.

These two men no doubt understand Stratton where others find him unpredictable. They understand why Stratton backed the Illinois Equality of Opportunity Commission while his legislative opponents groaned. They follow the process which led him to identify himself with the hard-core isolationist wing of the Republican Party—then to sponsor and fight for the displaced persons bill in the 80th Congress and support the UN (in the face of opposition from the *Tribune* Tower)—then in turn to take an isolationist stand on the Korean War. Perhaps, Stratton would say, unpredictability is an asset.

The source of Stratton's political strength is his outstretched hand. Few Illinois political figures in modern times have covered as much of the state as often as Stratton. There is scarcely a hamlet in the state's 102 counties in which Stratton's policy of "grab first," has not won him a nucleus of devoted admirers who work hard when he is a candidate. Stratton holds an "open house" once a week in the Governor's Mansion to which any Illinoisan, important or insignificant, can confront the Governor with his problems.

For most of his adult life, Stratton's sole means of livelihood has been politics. As a Congressman-at-large from Illinois, he served two separate terms. As the "baby" member of the House, in 1941, he got into hot political water by lending his franking privilege to Nazi agent George Sylvester Viereck. But he weathered that to get himself elected to his first term as state treasurer two years later, breaking the GOP organization slate to win the nomination. It was during his first term as treasurer that he acquired the designation of "Billy the Kid." It was not because of his age, although he was the youngest man ever elected to a top state office, but because he loaded his payroll with undeserving politicians at more expense to the state than the original "Billy the Kid" ever netted in his highway depredations.

In his second term as treasurer, to which he was elected in 1950, Stratton was able to run his office without scandal. He had set his sights on the Governorship and acted accordingly. Although he was nominally a Taft man at the Republican National Convention in 1952, Stratton did not find it difficult at all to switch his allegiance whole-heartedly to Eisenhower. Stratton respects and likes a man who seems to be running in winning form—that is a Republican. His fragile frame quakes as he explains that he does not care to be presented as "the man who is filling Adlai Stevenson's shoes."

The Great Question

THE MOST conspicuous political development during the six months' absence from the country of Adlai E. Stevenson has been the defeat of the hope that the election of Eisenhower would mean the end of McCarthyism. Far from ending it, Eisenhower must fight to avoid being ended by it.

The world knows this and so does Stevenson. He declared on returning to our shores that he was questioned more about McCarthyism abroad than any other subject. He replied, he tells us, that he felt the issue was magnified and that "I would have more to say about it when I returned home."

Good—but what will Stevenson say?

It goes without saying that Stevenson is opposed to McCarthyism—or, rather, it is not worth saying, any more than was Coolidge's report that his parson was opposed to sin. What we need is not an incitation to fight it, but a clear and definite operations order instructing us how to fight it. It is not a partisan issue. It involves the basic problem of statecraft, the establishment of controlled power.

On the one hand, we are confronted with the Constitutional mandate to Congress "to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper," and it is obvious that laws made on a basis of inadequate information will be neither necessary nor proper. Congress must have, and must exercise power to extract, even from reluctant witnesses, all information requisite to its guidance in legislating. Congress must investigate.

On the other hand, no historian ever spoke a truer word than Acton when he wrote to Gladstone, "a government armed with the machinery of the Inquisition is necessarily absolute." Necessarily, mind you—not through the evil disposition of its agents, but by the very nature of the case the power of the Inquisition creates absolutism.

It has been the age-old function of liberalism to steer a safe course between the Red Scylla and the White Charybdis, but rarely if ever has it faced a narrower squeak than this. To trace precisely the line beyond which salutary, necessary investigation becomes pernicious, futile inquisition is a task of such difficulty that the man who succeeds with it will instantly establish his right to be called a liberal leader. Indeed, if he should succeed perfectly he would be more than that—he would be a political philosopher of the first rank.

We need not expect perfection in this world, but we not only expect, we are bound to have from some source a workable approximation to the right solution of the problem. Without it, the fabric of American freedom will disintegrate, for the slave of the state is no less a bondman than the slave of Simon Legree.

Mr. Stevenson, what is the essential difference between investigation and inquisition? Tell us, and you will erect a standard to which the wise and honest can repair; but if you do not know and will not guess, then, sir, it is to be feared that we must look for another.

GERALD W. JOHNSON

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REPORT TO STEVENSON:

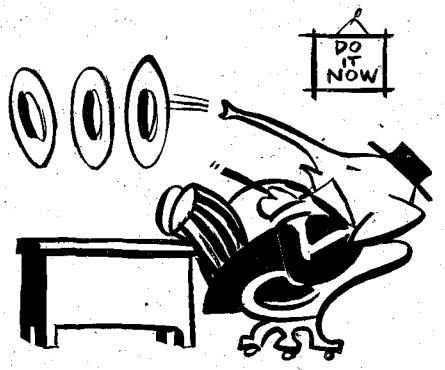
It Happened in the U.S.A.

March 20, 1953

The most positive thing about the Eisenhower administration, after two months in office, may seem to be its negativism. But its largely negative approach is calculated to produce positive results.—*Wall Street Journal.*

April 14, 1953

Senate Unit OK's Kenton Cravens for Chief of RFC—St. Louisan Says He Has "No Sympathy With Government in Lending Field"—Headline in St. Louis *Post-Dispatch.*



April 20, 1953

The Republican National Committee has issued a statement saying the first 75 days of the Eisenhower Administration have shown "memorable and significant results . . . in the translation of pledge into performance and promise into actuality."

April 21, 1953

"I hope that by that language we are terminating public housing as such forever and through all eternity because I believe it is the most monstrous, un-American, uneconomical, socialistic, and expensive legislation ever written by any Congress in all our history. . . . "—Rep. Norris Cotton (R, N.H.)

April 27, 1953

Washington shoe merchants report a big increase in the sale of men's high button shoes.

May 14, 1953

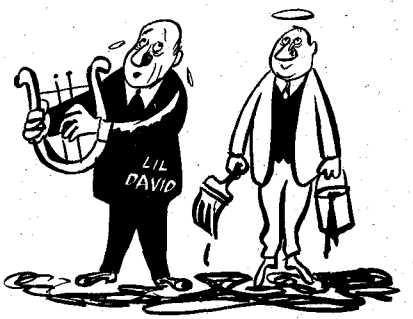
"My [golf] game would be a lot better if some one would do something about the price of beef."—President Eisenhower, quoted in *Wall Street Journal.*

May 19, 1953

"It's awfully boring. It has no Communist propaganda. It advocated peace and good will among nations."—Sen. Joseph McCarthy (R, Wis.), commenting on a State Department film.

June 15, 1953

"I hate to have to say this to a Republican Women's Club, but New Dealers are not necessarily bad security risks."—R. W. McLeod, State Department Security Chief.



July 13, 1953

Columnist David Lawrence on J. B. Matthews: "Should a man be punished for his views publicly expressed before he is employed by the government?"—*The Washington Star.*

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The Progress of the Crusade

The conservation program of the Administration refers chiefly to sagebrush

by Wayne Morse

GOVERNOR, since you left the United States in March, the people of the United States have become poorer by at least $50 billion and from all indications will become poorer yet, thanks to the "crusade." Some of the voters you will recall had the impression that it was a Robin Hood scheme of taking from the rich and giving to the poor. That is the general idea—in reverse.

Even before the crusade was officially launched in Topeka, the General wrote a chatty "non-political" letter to Jack Porter of Texas telling him that he was for the "return" of the so-called tidelands to Texas and the coastal states. Later the General argued that he did not know that the United States Supreme Court had held three times that the three coastal states, Texas, California and Louisiana, with rich submerged oil lands off their shores, had no valid claim to those sea areas.

Some of us thought that perhaps this new-found knowledge would result in a change of mind. Our hopes were soon submerged deeper than the oil. The newspapers (which continue to cover up for the Eisenhower giveaway program) now refer to the Supreme Court holdings as "political decisions." (When the Court rules the wrong way that is "politics" when it rules the right way that is "law.")

Congress was barely organized when the Republican leadership announced that the tidelands bill was to be the first major legislative business. The hearings were to be quick—but that did not work out. It was several weeks before the debate opened—on April Fool's Day.

The floor manager "explained" the bill for two days, but his explanations didn't satisfy the probing questioning of several Senators. The backers of the measure said little more in its defense, except for a corking but unconvincing presentation by Sen. Price Daniel of Texas, who can perhaps be forgiven some bias.

Some magnificent speeches in opposition were given by Sens. Clinton P. Anderson, Paul Douglas, J. W. Fulbright and Estes Kefauver with mild remonstrances from the bill's supporters.

It was fascinating that the press gave little coverage to the debate, which was relevant, cogent and outlined in principle and detail the shaping threat to the natural resources held by the federal government for all the people. There were scattered editorials and brief back-page news stories—only some 50 or more billions of dollars of submerged wealth were at stake. The debate continued day in and day out, and for some evenings; the people of the country were barely advised. To dramatize the issue, I decided that it was unfortunately necessary to speak without stopping for 22 hours and 26 minutes to break the newspaper blockade. And then the "news" stories were devoted mostly to what I ate during the marathon.

Nevertheless, the combination of events aroused a large segment of the population. The people realized that billions of dollars of the people's wealth were being given away to a few states. They understood that the enormous potential revenues would not be available for extraordinary defense expenditures, education, reduction of the federal debt of some $273 billion on which the annual interest alone is about $6 billion. Specific amendments to dedicate the submerged land revenues for these purposes were voted down. With those defeats went the most feasible plan for reducing the national debt and possibly tax relief. The little band of liberals in the Senate who waged this fight did extract some concessions of clarifying language which removed certain threats which lurked in ambiguous language.

We lost that battle. Worse, the people of the nation lost an irreplacable treasure. The nation lost the last possibility for development of this area and conservation which would have balanced oil production with defense needs. Continued federal control would have made possible orderly exploration and development, primarily by private companies, so that we would have a ready petroleum reserve marked out and with capped wells available.

On the very day, May 5, that the Senate passed the tideland's giveaway bill, the new Secretary of Interior, Douglas McKay, announced his Department's withdrawal from the Federal Power Commission's hearings on the Idaho Power Company's application for a single low dam which would usurp the site of the proposed federal multi-purpose Hell's Canyon Dam.

The Hell's Canyon Dam site is on the Snake River along the Idaho-Oregon border. It is the last great economical site which compares with the locations of Grand Coulee and Boulder.

Hell's Canyon Dam alone would produce more than

Wayne L. Morse (Independent) is US Senator from Oregon.

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six times the power which could be generated at Oxbow which was the only dam proposed by the company at the time of Secretary McKay's walkout. By extraordinary coincidence the Idaho Power Company held a corporate meeting in its Maine headquarters the day after McKay's negative action and voted to file for two other small dams in the Hell's Canyon area. All three would produce much less power than Hell's Canyon itself.

In addition, Hell's Canyon would provide some four million acre-feet of water storage. This means that it would collect and impound heavy runoffs of spring water for release during low water stages downstream on the Snake and Columbia Rivers. By integrating water flows, it would enable downstream dams in place, under construction and authorized to generate additional power which would almost equal the output of Hell's Canyon itself. The power attributable to Hell's Canyon would thereby be better than double that of the company three-dam plan.

THERE IS MORE to the story than that. Four authorized but unfinanced downstream dams would depend upon Hell's Canyon water for one-third of their output. It is possible that if Hell's Canyon is scrapped, these dams—Lower Monumental, Little Goose, Lower Granite and Ice Harbor—will not be built. At least McKay may argue in the future that their great loss of power potential makes them uneconomic.

In all, if Hell's Canyon isn't built and these dams are thereby abandoned, the total loss would come to some two and a quarter million kilowatts of capacity—about four times the total of the company plan output. In short, the Administration's abandonment of Hell's Canyon could be a death blow for full development of the power potential of the Columbia Basin.

The availability of plentiful and inexpensive water power is the indispensable condition of industrial growth of the Pacific Northwest. Coal is not available and transportation costs are prohibitive. Timber is too expensive as a fuel.

From 1939 to 1950 statistics demonstrate that as generation of electric power expanded so did industrialization and jobs in about the same proportions in Oregon and Washington. Bonneville power feeds the atomic energy plant at Richland, Washington. Aluminum production, which has expanded enormously in this area, would be impossible without cheap hydroelectric power. And it means a great deal to farming not only in the Northwest, but in the Midwest whose farmers suffer the burden of high freight charges on presently available fertilizers.

Nor is this all. Hell's Canyon would provide greater flood control with its four million acre-feet of water storage as compared to the company's plan for one million acre-feet. On May 5, the Secretary stated that floods which would be better controlled by the federal dam are "infrequent." He really said that.

Hell's Canyon would make possible enormous irrigation projects in vast sagebrush areas of Idaho and make irrigation more economical in Oregon. The Idaho Power Company would make no financial contribution to irrigation without which it cannot be undertaken. Reclamation projects throughout the West have devoted some power revenues to defray the costs of irrigation which are too high for farmers to bear alone.

In spite of its giveaway of our natural resources the Eisenhower Administration still double-talks about a conservation program. It must mean conservation of sagebrush areas because its monopoly of the private-utility power program provides virtually no support for irrigation.

It was at Fargo, North Dakota, that the General said on October 5, 1952:

> Here is one of the blanks that has been fired at me. You and the people of the West have been asked to believe that there will never be another dam or reclamation project if I am elected President.
>
> Anyone who thinks I am not interested in flood control and all the reclamation projects that we have in sight and others which can stand the test of practicability is talking through his hat.

The next day in Seattle, Washington, the General declaimed:

> You have been told by an expert in political demagoguery that I want to turn this great Northwest back to the prairie dogs and the sagebrush. You have been told that these people who are going to supplant the present shopworn Administration will never permit another dam in the reclamation program. You have been conducted through an underworld of imaginary devils. You have had a course in nonsense fiction.

Let us examine these vehement statements.

Several projects in the Northwest, such as Detroit and McNary Dams, which are already under construction are to be delayed. The great dam at Ice Harbor, which is already authorized, will not be started. The Administration made not a single proposal for a new dam start for fiscal 1954.

And, at the rate Eisenhower and McKay are going, no new federal dams will get under way between now and the 1956 election. But the House of Representatives did vote to turn the incomparable power potential of Niagara over to private-utility companies. The draft that Bonneville contracts with nine Northwest private utilities gave the utilities a veto power on the disposition of all new public power in that area. The guerrilla campaign continues against the Rural Electric Co-ops. On the "philosophical" level, President Eisenhower brands TVA as "creeping socialism." Who, then, in the harsh light of 1953, was giving courses in "nonsense fiction" in the 1952 campaign?

Governor, this is not a happy welcome home message. But, it is good to have you back. There is work to be done.

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LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

THE SELF-MADE ANGEL

by Allen Tate

IT MAY BE SAID at once that art being a form of conduct, it must necessarily have moral implications, but that its end is not the inculcation of morality. Its end is to be art, just as the end of man is not morality but the complete man. Beyond these commonplaces nobody seems to know much about the relation of art and morals, though I dare say other persons have expressed them more searchingly. What we must be vigilant about is the delusion that the relation of art to morals is a "problem," and a problem that can be solved. Art is not a branch of mathematics; it has no problems. It has mysteries; they are of an order somewhat inferior to the mysteries of religion, but they are no less permanent.

What we are confronted with in a work of literature, and I suppose also in the other arts, is human *action* translated into *being*—morals moving towards metaphysics. And that is why we get into trouble when we try to get our ethics from works of the imagination. Even if all men could agree on the moral soundness and depth of a given poem, it would still be dangerous to appeal to it as a sufficient guide to conduct. Action as it appears in a poem has been given another kind of reality which is no longer in motion, though it may *seem* to move: it has arrived at the reality of being, the end for which the poem exists. If we imitate its action, we are imitating an imitation, as some persons have said to do when, after reading *The Divine Comedy* a few months, they decide to enter the Roman Catholic Church.

The further any abstractions about art get away from poems and other works of art, the more useless they become in what I take to be the primary purpose in discussing poems, paintings, sculptures, and buildings; and that is, to enrich our understanding of the enormous varieties of being that the arts provide, and that, without the arts, no one man would be capable unaided of discovering.

What I shall undertake, therefore, is a comparison of two short passages of poetry, the one written early in the fourteenth century, the other about twenty-five years ago. Both passages deal with the same thing—the submission of the individual will to another will, and both affirm the necessity of submission. But the passages are very different in scope. In the earlier lines the individual will is related to the entire universe of being; in the later, one human will wishes to be absorbed into another human will. The passages are by Dante and Hart Crane.

It is usually convenient to make one's point by showing that some other writer tried but failed to make it; for this purpose, Matthew Arnold is always ready to hand. I suppose Arnold's touchstones have done more harm to the right reading of poetry than any device ever resorted to by a critic. For the touchstones are the shortest conceivable way of wringing all the being out of poetry and making it look like moral action. For years I had been puzzled by Arnold's use, as one of his touchstones, of the famous line by Dante: "E la sua voluntade e nostra pace." I not only didn't agree that the will of God is our peace; I didn't think that the line was poetry. Now that I do agree that our peace is in the will of God, I still don't think that the line *taken alone* is poetry. After I had read Dante I was more puzzled than ever by Arnold's failure to quote the entire terzina of which "His will is our peace" is the first line. I could only surmise that Arnold shied away from it because the wonderful richness and complexity of the full image had so blinded him that he could no longer see it. Here is the complete terzina in Binyon's translation:

> And in His will is perfected our peace;
> It is the sea where unto moveth all
> That it creates and nature makes increase.

I don't want to get trapped into the so-called problem of poetry and belief, because I should never get out of the trap. What I do want to point out again is the standing menace of under-reading, of which not only Arnold but all the rest of us are constantly guilty. The great image of the will of God as the creative sea extends our experience into a mode of being that we had not enjoyed before, however humbly we may have accepted the doctrine of submission. Are we to conclude that the image of the sea so beguiles us that we slip into believing in submission? I think not. Which came first to Dante's mind, the doctrine of submission or the image of the sea?

There is no way of finding out. But this much can be said: the doctrine of submission as such cannot be poetry because it is in motion; it has not reached any one of several possible ends. One end might be, for religious persons, contemplative prayer. But as poetry it has got to reach another sort of end altogether; it has got to come to rest in a particular mode of being, and one of those modes is Dante's creating and receiving ocean, a figure of incalculable depth and richness. May one just imagine, assuming that we think of poetry as an inculcation of morality, a simple and very literal man who, having read Piccarda's speech, goes as fast as he can to the sea and jumps into it because he thinks that is the way to be at one with the will of God?

Some lines from Hart Crane, a simple and literal man present the gradual advance of intoxication in a series of very brilliant images. (The poem is called "The Wine Menagerie.") Through alcohol the poet arrives at a certain intensity of vision in which he feels that Self has been liberated from *the self*. This is the stanza:

> New thresholds, new anatomies! Wine talons
> Build freedom up about me and distil
> This competence—to travel in a tear
> Sparkling alone, within another's will.

R. P. Blackmur has written one of his fullest and best essays on these lines. I am about to engage in an under-reading but in self-defense I should plead that Crane makes it inevitable. We must not be deceived by the complex imagery, for Crane has *under-written* his poem. Before I go further I wish to give my hand away. I have a strong impression

(Continued on page 21)

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THE PURITAN CONSCIENCE

PERRY MILLER's first authoritative study of the New England culture: *The New England Mind; the Seventeenth Century* appeared in 1939. It established its author as the most thorough and competent student of our historic Puritanism. It must therefore be welcome news not only to scholars but to the general reader that after the interruption of the war years, he has now carried his studies through the eighteenth century in *The New England Mind: from Colony to Province*. Miller has managed to get inside the Puritan mind in a remarkable degree. This is no small feat, since it must appear to a modern a mind so different from ours, that it may excite wonder and pity but will not prompt comprehension.

THE NEW ENGLAND MIND: *From Colony to Province*, by Perry Miller (Harvard; $6.50).

Miller is a meticulous scholar, who has mastered the documents of the age so that he permits the Stoddards and the Mathers to speak for themselves. But he is no pedant, which is to say that he superimposes upon the science of history the imagination of the artist. His work amply proves that good historiography is both art and science. The finished product of such an historian will therefore prove exciting to an intelligent reader even if he is not greatly concerned about the Puritans or interested in the relation of this strange beginning to our subsequent history, or perhaps in the relation of Puritan morals to our present moral codes.

Mr. Miller does not reveal any preconceptions on the meaning of Puritanism, and he avoids the note of condescension which so frequently colors modern estimates of old and strange cultures. He is therefore enabled to bring out the full flavor of the ironic history of a settlement which was based upon presuppositions which proved in almost every case to be totally different from those which govern our American culture this day.

The story of the adjustment of Puritanism to the ethos of a new Continent, and of its failure through its success is even more interesting in the seventeenth century than in the sixteenth. The story sometimes involves the dissolution of contradictions in the heart of Calvinism. It was, as all Calvinism, informed by a perfectionist impulse which expressed in "separatist irresponsibility" and by a "theocratic" impulse which sought to bring the whole of civil society under the dominion of the divine through the rule of his "saints." The adjustment of these two impulses produced the "halfway covenant." The perfectionism was, in the words of Max Weber, an "intramundane asceticism." It did not ask for a withdrawal from the world but for diligence in worldly pursuits. As a result it made for success in business; and this success undermined the original piety. Miller suggests that to the ritualistic jeremiads, the constant confessions of sin were more than a Calvinist ritual. They were the expression of an uneasy conscience of men who knew that they were not saints but they were also dimly aware that the evil which they confessed could not be so easily eliminated because it was so intimately related to the good which they espoused.

Perhaps the most serious defect of Calvinism was its theory of special providence according to which every event in history or in nature, for that matter, was thought of as the fruit of a conscious divine decree. Thus every drought, or other natural disaster, and every civic disturbance was interpreted as the result of God's "wrath." It prompted penance and fasting. Every favorable circumstance, on the other hand, was interpreted as a proof of God relenting against a rebellious people. Naturally the unfavorable first outweighed the favorable ones: but amid the wide opportunities of the new Continent the signs of God's "favor" were bound to be finally more numerous than the signs of his "wrath." The creed therefore operated to hasten the descent from Puritanism to "Yankeeism" in the eighteenth century. Our annual Thanksgiving festivals in which we congratulate God on having such a virtuous people are vestigial remnants of this declension.

The pretension of virtue by the saints offered special difficulties not only because it was the type of virtue which promised worldly rewards but because it was made the basis of political authority. The Puritan preachers were political oligarchs; their rationalizations and hypocrasies were obvious. Miller, as a good artist, does not belabor them but merely lets them reveal themselves and records the inevitable cynicism and resentment which their pretensions elicited. These resentments, together with developments in England, where the toleration was established under William and Mary, ultimately undermined their authority.

In a choice passage Miller analyzes the tortures of soul in Cotton Mather, as he justifies the witch trials against his own better judgment:

> Why did the poor devil not leave well enough alone, publish the reports and throw into the fire everything that he had poured out during the days of waiting? . . . The fuller explanation, accounting for his conscious and unconscious motivations, is the compelling force of the jeremiad. He had to find a rationale for his country's ordeal and at the same time a modicum of peace with himself; he did it by forcing the whole wretched business in the traditional scheme of sin and retribution, which to him was the only form that would give conceivable significance either to New England's tragedy or to his own comprehension of it.

This Calvinist experiment in the "rule of the saints" was, in other words, enough to end all such experiments. It did not of course prevent a new and more terrible secularized version of it which we know as Communism. But it is silly to draw the moral particularly when a virtue of Miller's book is that he forbears and lets history speak for itself.

It is possible to choose only a few of the many themes which Professor Miller illumines in this great work. One hopes that it will have a wide reading despite the specialized character of the study.

REINHOLD NIEBUHR

A FLUID PORTRAIT

ANDRE GIDE sat for his portrait many times—and largely to himself—during his sixty years of creation. He made of his books a long and continuous confessional, a mirror of his adolescence and troubled manhood, a polished reflector of his meditative old age. To a greater or lesser degree this is true of all writers: their works inevitably are the mirrors of their minds. Gide, more than most, however, not only used his writings to ease his troubled inner spirit, but seemed to resist the final act of cutting the umbilicus that bound them to him. Before he launched a work it was discussed and analyzed in the perpetual

PORTRAIT OF ANDRE GIDE, by Justin O'Brien (Knopf; $6).

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self-communion of his interminable journals. Launched, it often acquired a sequel, or "retouches," or an explicative preface; or it became promptly the subject of a correspondence that did not wait for posterity to find itself in print.

A writer so mirrored is bound to be a challenge to the biographer. The biographer must take account not only of the "hard facts" of his subject's life, but see them transmuted into the now glittering, now somber actor's attire, donned before the ever-present reflectors. He must paint his portrait having before him a veritable gallery of self-portraits. The venturesome biographer's picture must not resemble too closely the existing pictures for he must be able to see his subject in better perspective than the subject saw himself. Here lies, perhaps, the essential weakness in Justin O'Brien's otherwise painstaking and saturated picture of Gide. He leans too much on the self-portraits; he creates not so much an independent portrait as a kind of ruminative and pleasant stroll through the Gidean picture gallery. Here he seems to say that Gide is playing Narcissus; and there he is Proteus, fancying himself in many roles, Gide's favorite myth. And now he sees him as Philoctetes, suffering from his homosexual wound; but so ardently does he apply the self-therapy of his writing that he emerges as Oedipus in a process of self-integration.

All this is very ingenious, even if it does split Gide too neatly into thirteen classical segments—among them Dionysius, Icarus, Prometheus and Corydon—and it is, I suppose, what O'Brien means when he tells us that he is writing a "fluid portrait," that is keeping his colors wet for possible retouches. O'Brien, however, knew the old Gide, he was writing with the image of the man still before his eyes and the sound of his voice still in his ears. (It is true that he naïvely seems to believe that the astute French writer answered his questions over several summers "without fully knowing" that he "sat to me for his portrait.") But the portrait is drawn not so much out of O'Brien's memories of the master, or the old man's doubtless admirable talk, as from the works themselves. And not only too much on Gide's terms, but with an often too-defensive tone that only reveals the biographer's failure to disengage himself from his subject.

O'Brien clearly has other problems that are beyond his control. There are certain obvious gaps in the pages of even so documented a life as Gide's which only time can fill. The biographer must still be discreet about Gide's daughter and his relationship with Elisabeth Van Rysselburghe, whose name he cautiously hides in the index without allowing it to appear in the text of the book. Indeed he uses words like "rumor" and "reported" in the one paragraph devoted to Catherine, as if it were not an established fact that she exists, has married and is a mother.

Yet any details throwing light upon a strongly heterosexual Gide, however difficult to establish, are supremely important in assaying the life of one who described his homosexuality to the world and defended it in so many brilliant pages of his prose. We have here a biographical drama as bizarre as it is significant: the image of a cultivated mind and a creative spirit, brought up in a household so rigidly Protestant that Gide ever after spoke of himself as being a combination of a little boy having fun and a Protestant minister; a being, moreover, in whom the natural sexual appetites were associated exclusively with sin and held in abhorrence, while Woman was an exalted image of chastity and purity untouchable by man.

In Gide's life such a woman existed in the flesh, if one can speak of flesh in mentioning his idealized and etherealized cousin Madeleine. If women were forbidden, and sexual relations with them were to be abhorred, the boy in Gide, on reaching manhood, discovered that other boys were not (especially if they were of different race, like young Arabs in Africa) and that anxiety-producing heterosexuality could give way to exhilarating homosexuality, even if afterwards there was guilt to be expiated. Gide married his cousin Madeleine two or three months after his mother's death (his father had died when he was eleven) and he established a strange *modus vivendi* for himself: he had a virgin in his home, pure and undefiled, for the Protestant minister in him to love, while the fun-loving boy could release his animal nature among other boys.

We had most of this story long ago from Gide himself and further details of his marriage emerged in the posthumous pages, *Et nunc manet in te* . . . published in 1951.

But the presence of a daughter, and the long friendship with Elisabeth, suggests dramas beyond those which Gide revealed.

O'Brien discusses, for instance, the burning of Gide's letters by the long-suffering mother-cousin-wife in 1918, in what he believes was Madeleine's disillusionment on discovering Gide had fallen in love with a youth, thereby ceasing to dissociate love from animal desire. Might there not, however, be more than this in Madeleine Gide's act of disillusion and "jealousy?" Elisabeth was already on the horizon; Gide had met her during the first World War. And while this is all vague and requires definition, the evidence does suggest the need for further data. Gide's trumpeted homosexuality would take on a different light if we discovered him capable of having a relationship with a woman such as he was unable to consummate with his wife.

For the present, Justin O'Brien's portrait remains, therefore, tentative and marginal. The isolation of the "dominant aspects" of Gide's personality in the separate myths makes for a less integrated critique of the work than that given us two years ago by Albert Guerard in his admirable study of Gide. And there is a failure, too, to see the interrelatedness of the myths as expressions of Gide's central problem, that of his narcissism. O'Brien fights against the idea that this was anything but a "pose." Yet all of Gide's writings are a function of it: his use of journals and diaries, his very publication of these during his lifetime, his issuing of small editions of his works, (that is his use of art as self-explanation rather than communication), his penchant for the dialogue form, (that is for conversations with himself), the constant resort to the first person in his tales, his repeated reliance upon mirror images, his histrionic sense ("I am playing no other part than myself"), all bespeak the conscious self-imager.

It was an essential trait in Gide, the source of the series of beautiful works shown us in his multiple mirrors. That is justification enough for it. Even Gide's mild flirtation with Communism (for which O'Brien is again needlessly apologetic, since Gide himself quickly penetrated the façade of doctrinaire fanaticism and never committed himself) was but one of the writer's periodic attempts to break out of the charmed circle of the Self. He never succeeded and the world's literature is all the richer for it.

LEON EDEL

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THE SECOND SEX

MIRRA KOMAROVSKY is, like Simone de Beauvoir, a disciple of the Enlightenment, and a believer in the potential intellectual equality of men and women. But, unlike the French philosopher, she realizes that in the United States the older feminist battles have been won in large educated strata, and that what now needs doing is very concrete examination of the optimum ways in which educated women can today combine career, productive leisure, and marriage in some consecutive or simultaneous pattern not too unsatisfactory for both spouses. She goes about her work by interviewing college women looking ahead to their dilemmas and housewives (and their husbands, too) living in the midst of them. The result is a thoughtful and interesting book, good-tempered despite provocations from neo-antifeminists, like Marynia Farnham, who have used psychoanalytic data in their effort to persuade women to limit their aims to the pre-Enlightenment ones.

WOMEN IN THE MODERN WORLD, by Mirra Komarovsky (Little, Brown; $4).

Typical of the quotations from interview material is the following, from a housewife who gave up teaching to raise a small child:

> I had the loneliest summer. I kept aloof from my neighbors because I had an idea that housewives are petty, gossipy, and limited and I was sure we would not have anything in common. It was not until the second summer when we returned to the same beach resort that I began associating with them. Let me tell you that they are just as well read and just as interesting as any of my old friends.

Dr. Komarovsky is well aware of the defensiveness or self-deception such a discovery may conceal; she is also aware that the shop-talk of housewives still lacks the prestige of even the most petty and limited shop-talk of engineers or teachers. But her attack is not on women who feel themselves superior to housewifery but on the cultural definitions of prestige which hamper the discovery by men and women alike of the best deployment of their individual potentialities. She recommends, as does this reviewer, a great increase in part-time jobs for women—and jobs not limited to the conventional nurturant occupations of teaching, nursing, pediatrics, and receptionist. While she is ready to grant that more men than women are gifted in physics and other abstract sciences, and that this may reflect biological as well as cultural conditioning, she observes, on the basis of college entrance tests, that a third of the girls excel half the boys in this subject and should not be disfranchised from access to it because of the mere weight of the statistical averages.

This last is an important point, for it goes to the heart of the present reexamination (greatly stimulated by Lynn White's wise and witty book, *Educating our Daughters*) of women's education. It is part of the democratic creed of many school administrators to raise the question of "knowledge for what" and to excise from the curriculum those subjects, the classics for instance, which the great majority will never "use"—no matter how much intense pleasure and meaning a small minority may get, a minority one can never accurately locate and predict in advance. Likewise, on the basis of the fact that a large number of women who have gone through traditional curricula claim to have been badly prepared for homemaking, there is pressure on colleges and high schools to import "female" courses for women, such as home economics, at the expense of "masculine" courses in physics or philosophy.

Thus women who might excell in the latter fields (or men in the former) are discriminated against because they are statistically and ideologically outnumbered. Indeed, only by opening all fields to both men and women can we discover the nature and extent of sexual overlap and differentiation. And, I would add, only by a certain willingness to tax and perhaps to bore the majority will we make the best use of our gifted and creative vanguard in any field.

Dr. Komarovsky would, however, like to supplement the traditional curriculum by courses in anthropology, sociology, and psychology which can give prospective mothers a cross-cultural perspective on their own dilemmas, and some acquaintance with the variety of roles men and women have taken in our own and other societies. She would like them to do field-work, for part of the time, in order to supplement the library with the laboratory that a living culture provides. And she would like to have counseling services available for the students who encounter themselves, their families, and others in such courses in ways which raise traumatic issues for them. The Grand Tour which was once the capstone of education can now be replaced by the no less exciting effort at meaningful sight-seeing closer to home. As a teacher, this reviewer is aware that such a program is costly and controversial; it cannot be instituted everywhere. But, like the author, he hopes it will be as available for men as for women students; as Diana Trilling has observed, so long as women remain in any degree a low-status group, they cannot afford a better education than men get but will feel excluded if theirs is not just as bad. Paradoxically, the top women's colleges (including Barnard, where Dr. Komarovsky teaches) actually do provide, in my judgment, the best collegiate education anywhere but, according to data in and out of this book, leave their alumnae dissatisfied and their student bodies worried at the "unnatural" segregation to which they claim to be exposed. And, I suppose, so long as stags outrank hens on a scale of glamour, such paradoxes will haunt us, complicating life for men who are not wholly stag and for women who are and aren't wholly hen. True to her Enlightenment heritage, Dr. Komarovsky does not want to return to a social order of less complicated definitions, but through greater knowledge of concrete social reality to illuminate the increasing number of alternatives open to the educated woman. Men who think women are good for more than one thing can only cheer.

DAVID RIESMAN

THE RECORD REVIEW

THE FAITHFUL SHEPHERD, by G. F. Handel (Columbia).

ALTHOUGH it is a charming work, full of lively and engaging music, Handel's *Shepherd* suffers by comparison with his own later work and with such major operatic accomplishments of the Baroque as *Dido and Aeneas*. But as an Italian opera—and it is one—it is a wonderful example of that Italian taste which, 250 years ago, was *the* international standard of musical sophistication.

Columbia's new recording is in a reasonably pure style, and most of it is gratifying, although almost all of the roles are sung by women, including those intended for men, with the result that the singing is unrelieved by the contrast in register that would have helped project a work of this length.

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The correct performance of a Baroque vocal work requires an almost infallible sense of pitch and rhythm. The young American singers in this performance are singularly excellent in both regards, and show a versatility notably absent in the older generation. Genevieve Warner, the "hero" of this piece, sang a beautiful Zerlina at the Metropolitan last season, and Lois Hunt, one of the Handelian nymphs, was a Rosalinda in the Metropolitan's *Fledermaus;* Virginia Paris, another of the nymphs, was on Broadway a dozen times as Bloody Mary in *South Pacific*. Yet in this performance the singing style is consistently and beautifully Handelian.

The orchestral accompaniment is clear and conducted by Lehman Engel with considerable restraint. Unfortunately, the continuo parts are played on the piano, an instrument rather too rich for this employment in concerted Baroque music. In his solos, Sterling Hunkins, the cellist, draws some surprisingly unpleasant sounds from his instrument. In spite of these flaws, this recording is probably the best we shall have of the work for some time, and it is a pleasure to listen to it.

SONATA IN F; SUITE IN THE STYLE OF HANDEL; FANTASY AND FUGUE IN C, by W. A. Mozart (Bartok).

Three of Mozart's most profound and beautiful works, rarely played in recital, are recorded here by Ralph Kirkpatrick on a modern reconstruction of an eighteenth century piano. Kirkpatrick ignores the harsh implications of these works, with the result that his playing can seem a little too dulcet, but his authority in interpretative matters is considerable. Anyone who loves Mozart and admires Kirkpatrick will surely want to hear his reading of these pieces, which have been unfamiliar just a little too long.

FLOS CAMPI, by Ralph Vaughan Williams; LETTER TO THE WORLD, by Hunter Johnson (Concert Hall).

Scored for chorus and chamber orchestra, *Flos Campi* is not practical for performance under ordinary conditions. It is, however, a major work, and this recording is particularly welcome.

Hunter Johnson's score for Martha Graham's *Letter to the World* has rarely been heard outside the theatre. The suite from the ballet, though somewhat episodic, is well-made and serves as a gracious introduction to one of our better but less-known contemporaries. Robert Hull's reading of both works, with the Concert Hall orchestra and the Cornell University Chorus, is sensitive and distinguished. ROBERT EVETT

BOOKS IN BRIEF

LEARNING LAUGHTER, by Stephen Spender (Harcourt, Brace; $3.50).

Mr. Spender was invited to Israel by the Youth Aliyah, an organization for the rescue and remoralization of young Jews from all parts of the world. His informal and rather disorganized book is a sympathetic report on life as he found it in that country which, even by his British standards, is austere. In spite of his vast good will, the tenor of Spender's book is gloomy, accounting as it must terrible poverty, political uneasiness, disunity and tragedy.

THE ORESTEIA OF AESCHYLUS, translated by Richmond Lattimore (Chicago; $2.50).

Mr. Lattimore's translation of Aeschylus is in one way to our time what Pope's translation of Homer was to the eighteenth century: a free rendering of Greek into an English which corresponds to the highest standards of English poetry at the time. In this version, the plays comprising the *Oresteia* have a magnificent modern ring, making them again available to the reader who has no Greek and has heretofore been dependent on the translations in the nineteenth century manner.

ALBERT AND VICTORIA, by Françoise de Bernardy (Harcourt, Brace; $4.75).

As Lytton Strachey demonstrated in his biography of Queen Victoria, a dull subject can provide the impetus for a very lively book. Mlle. Bernardy's exhaustive study of that Queen's husband has the ring of authority about it, but it is surely unnecessarily tedious. She has omitted only those details which Victorian propriety would reject as indelicate in the biography of a pious gentleman. Those details might conceivably have given some charm to this grim book. R.S.

(Tate, continued from page 17)

that most modern poetry, however complicated the imagery, is under-written. It is under-written because it leaves out the horse, and tries to use magic to make the cart move. It is half-poetry. It is sometimes called the poetry of sensibility.

The only thresholds and the only anatomies that we are likely to know are those that God has already given us, if we have the wit and grace to find them; and the magic of sensibility will not produce new ones. I am not being pious about this matter. I am trying to discern an objective distinction. There is a radical obscurity in Crane's lines because magic itself is obscure. It is not a "formulable essence," and in so far as it is an "operation" at all it attempts to violate natural law. With Crane, we are not concerned with natural magic; Crane is using propitiatory magic, merely material means for spiritual ends: the mere intensity of sensation disguised as a spiritual good. Baudelaire and Yeats knew something about this, Baudelaire through hashish, Yeats through Madame Blavatsky; and both knew in the end that it was no good. If the other will—in which Crane wishes to travel—is like his, it would scarcely be worth the trouble to travel in it. What we have here, of course, from another point of view, is the standard romantic self-pity (the tear), and not the submission of the will but its destruction. Crane, like most men today, was a self-made angel trying to cheat the condition of man.

One of his conditions is his rational condition. It seems that in nothing that man makes can he afford to ignore it. Dante knew all about self-destruction; Crane put forth images of self-destruction under the illusion that they were images of an intenser spiritual life. An art so ignorant of what it is doing may often achieve great power in the eyes of those who can see around it: Crane's poem is powerful. But it is an art that in the long run will destroy itself; as Crane destroyed himself, for his suicide was his last act of magic. I am not repudiating my praise of Crane. He was probably as great a poet as a magician can be.

Notes on the Critics

Poet ALLEN TATE'S latest book is *The Forlorn Demon* (critical essays); philosopher REINHOLD NIEBUHR'S latest book is *The Irony of American History.* Critic and biographer LEON EDEL is completing his long biography of Henry James, the first volue of which—*The Untried Years*—has recently been published. Sociologist DAVID RIESMAN'S outstanding books are *The Lonely Crowd* and *Faces in the Crowd.* He teaches at the University of Chicago.

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From Our Readers

► Ends Against the Middle

While I agree with most of Frank Gervasi's article in the *New Republic* of Aug. 17, I think that he misses the vital point why so many Italian voters have been disillusioned with the center parties and drifted away to the Monarchists and Fascists.

In the recent Italian elections, the people had the choice of voting for a Communist or neo-Fascist dictatorship or a clerical-dominated coalition with little or no idea of the radical measures needed to reconstruct Italian society. They have chosen the second alternative by a slim margin, and, despite the grievous perils which lie ahead, I believe they have chosen wisely.

Many Italians would have liked a third choice. They would have liked to vote for a party opposed to Communism but still resolved to carry out a program of social reform. The responsibility of depriving the Italian people of this third choice lies with Nenni and Saragat, the two Socialist leaders who have led the bulk of their followers into bondage with the Communists and Christian Democrats.

The Nenni Socialist group emerged from the election with considerable strength because it has successfully exploited the mistakes of the center coalition that has ruled the country from 1948 to the present. If the Communists and the Nenni Socialists had won a majority in the election, a course of events would have been set in motion which would have culminated in the extinction of democracy by the same tactics employed in Eastern Europe after World War II. Assuming that there were no civil war or American intervention, the Italians would never have known the blessing of another free election. They would have succumbed to a dictatorship no less ruthless, although more effective, than that of Mussolini. Meantime, Nenni and his friends would have outlived their usefulness to the Communists. Very soon they would have been extinguished as a separate party, just as the Socialist parties which "co-operated" with the Communists have been extinguished in Eastern Europe.

What was equally distressing about the Italian elections was the poor showing of the right-wing Socialist Party. For that the leaders of the right-wing Socialist Party must bear a great part of the blame. Because of their misguided policies, the right-wing party has decayed into congeries of intellectuals and theorists, divorced from the more powerful trade unions and exercising little influence on the working class. It has ceased to draw its strength from the workers of Italy or to fight their battle against exploitation and poverty. Thus the leadership of the working class has passed by default to the Communists and Nenni Socialists.

These so-called left-wing parties increased their vote by over a million because of the failure of the last center government to take action against economic injustice. The wealth of the privileged few has a direct relevance to the harsh conditions of the Italian working and middle classes. Indeed, few people in Italy view with anything but cynical pessimism the obligation of the last coalition government to deal with the problems that really matter—the high cost of living, bad housing, land reform and the appalling inequalities of Italian society.

The verdict of the elections confirms to the hilt the criticisms made by many Socialists of Western policy for years past. Where everything is subordinated to the anti-Communist crusade, where the attempt is made to disregard the demands of social revolution, where the glaring contrasts between rich and poor are allowed to continue, the only stategy with which to defeat Communism is the strategy of democratic socialism. This strategy must be to show by deeds that political freedom and socialist planning can be sustained together; to associate and act together, as far as possible, with those who uphold the same ideals; and to encourage the people not to support the totalitarian extremes.

In Italy, a brave beginning must be made. The only hope for a recovery of the democratic center lies in the willingness of the Nenni and Saragat groups to bury their differences and find the means of unity. The fragments of Italian socialism must be welded into one party which can resist the assaults of the Communists and carry forward a democratic social revolution. Only such a party can revitalize the Italian people's faith in freedom and build the foundations of a full and just democracy.

New York City GABRIEL GERSH

► Federal Aid to Education

Now, if ever, is the time for the *New Republic* to awaken Americans to the need for federal aid to the public schools. We have reached the eleventh hour, because within a few months the United States Supreme Court will render its decision on the constitutionality of racial segregation in the schools. If it decides, as it certainly should, that segregation is unconstitutional, the Department of Justice, the Congress and the entire citizenry will be faced with responsibility for taking immediate practical steps to implement the decision.

Our Senators and Representatives seem unaware of the prospective emergency. They do not appear to understand what the Supreme Court's decision may mean to school children. If they did, it is unthinkable that they would not have made provision for this exigency.

Ending segregation will necessarily require, in most cases, the removal of a considerable number of white children from schoolhouses which are well-equipped, conveniently located, and hygienically maintained to other schoolhouses which are drastically inferior in all respects. Bringing Negro children into

(*Continued on page 23*)

Bandwagon

Navy Secretary Robert B. Anderson made a confession at a press conference in Denver recently.

He said he never had been aboard a Naval vessel prior to his appointment to the job. "But I've been on plenty of them since," he added.—*From the Ann Arbor* News, *August 1, 1953.*

A problem which the committee (the mayor's fair rent committee) considered, but did not announce any greed policy on, was that of landlords who have asked large increases in rents to finance needed repairs for the property involved.—*From the Cleveland* Plain Dealer, *August 11, 1953.*

A short time ago we received from Austin Clifford, of the Indiana University School of Law, an opinion which is noteworthy. Professor Clifford's opinion is not partisan, as he is a fairly staunch Republican.—*From the Bloomington* Daily Herald-Telephone, *August 14, 1953.*

M. Georgi Malenkov's cleanshaven face had nothing whatsoever to do with the disappearance of his own moustache, Mr. A. K. Gopalan, Communist M.P., declared here last night.

Insinuations that he had chosen to retain his hirsute adornment so long as Marshal Stalin was alive and that after the moustached Marshal's cleanshaven successor arrived, every comrade was ordered to show a clean upper lip, Mr. Gopalan said, were nothing but "demeaning propaganda" on the part of his political opponents to catch votes.—*From the* Evening News of India *as quoted in* Freedom First, *July 14, 1953.*

Our readers are invited to contribute; $2 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, c/o New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping.—THE EDITORS.

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To Our Readers

Friedrich Engels never saw the battleship shown on page 5. But she was just the colossal monster that he had in mind. Not only was her cost prohibitive in his view; she was obsolete before she ever slid off the ways.

Engels, of course, was wrong. This ship, the *Chicago,* was commissioned in 1885. She served as a flagship in Europe and the Pacific. She earned an honorable retirement to the Massachusetts Naval Militia in 1910. She came out of retirement to act as flagship of the Atlantic submarine fleet when we went to war, and she was decommissioned in 1923 at the old age of 28. Her cost, which Engels predicted would bankrupt the capitalist economies, was $889,000. The estimated cost of our new carrier, the *Forrestal,* is $218 million.

In the same way Engels overdid his enthuiasm for the Franco-Prussian War. He wrote, "When there are cannons which can hit a battalion as far as the eye can distinguish it, and rifles which take less time to load than to aim then all further advances are a matter of more or less indifference for field warfare."

Yet Engels was a brilliant writer on military strategy. Great generals and even an American Presidential candidate claimed Engels' studies as their own.

How could Engels be so mistaken? In part he was too enthusiastic in his desire to demolish Herr Eugen Duhring, the philosopher who claimed that "the political conditions are the decisive cause of the economic situation." In part, his claim that the economic situation of war would destroy the political condition of militarisms, like his belief that universal military service would bring on the revolution by putting arms in the hands of the people was a reflection of his inveterate optimism.

* * *

I wrote last week about Anna Akhmatova, the Soviet poet who did not know that the penniless boy who painted her portrait had died, one of the great masters of modern painting.

Akhmatova was the first victim of the ideological purge of 1946. Zhdanov damned her before a Writers Congress: "She preaches the theory of art for art's sake!"

Stalin, he noted, defined Soviet writers as "engineers of human souls." A failure to produce sharp literary instruments, Zhdanov warned, was worse than "the non-fulfillment of lumber supplies." He ended and one after another the dutiful engineers arose to condemn Akhmatova. The story is told in George Counts' book, *The Country of the Blind.* **M. S.**

LETTERS

(*Continued from page 22*)

schools heretofore reserved for white children will necessitate transferring some of the white children out of their schools to provide the required space. This would mean inferior facilities for the transferred white children, and in many cases, resentment and bitterness.

It is not the American way to raise one group by pulling another group down. Our traditions call for providing such attractive additional facilities that all Negro children will be treated more justly and no white child will suffer disadvantage in the process. If, therefore, the Congress of the United States does its duty, it must immediately appropriate generous funds for the construction of a new *third* set of schools so that unsegregated classes will mean an improvement for most of the children and a harm to none. Otherwise there is grave danger that because past generations have eaten the sour grapes of segregation the next generation's teeth will be set on edge with racial antagonism. This responsibility, like the Constitution, belong to all of us.

New York City EDMOND CAHN

► Doldrums

I realize that you are utterly opposed to publication of verse. Yet I venture to send, as a communication to the editor, the lines below. If nothing else, they have the virtue of originality.

In doldrums, where the water bug
Clings to the russet ocean weed,
The sea horse, rampant, lean and smug,
Displays his homely, equine mug.
And browses where the typhoons breed.

His tail, prehensile, keeps his stance.
His eyes, attentive, seek their prey;
They scan the shimmering expanse
Between the jostling ocean plants—
Their boldest reach a foot away.

In doldrums of the heart I hold
To habit and accustomed ways—
My dreams, capacious, feral, cold.
No new horizon, wide or bold,
Can lure by unresponsive gaze.

And this, thank God, a sweet refuge is—
My soul is brutish, mad and earthy.
My hatred, all-pervading, huge is;
My cringing ego, proud, a stooge is
Of Him I worship, Joe McCarthy.

New Orleans, La. JOHN CROMWELL

MAGAZINE

"HOW TO BE SANE THOUGH NEGRO"—lead article on psychology of minority groups in current issue of *ETC.*, official quarterly journal of Int'l Society for General Semantics, edited by S. I. Hayakawa. Read how language forms limit thought, behavior. $4 year; trial issue $1. Write *Etc,* Dept. 22, 539 W. North Ave., Chicago 10, Ill.

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OLD BEFORE HIS TIME

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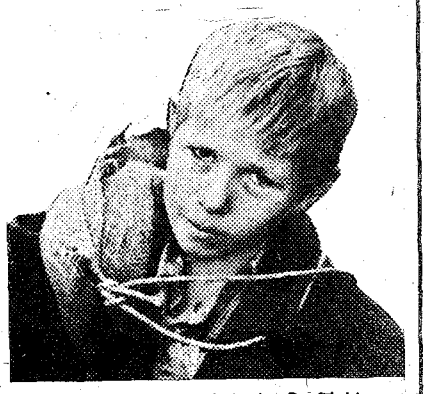

photo by David Myers

James—age 13, picks cotton

Thousands of migrant children, some as young as six, work long hours in the hot sun in commercial agriculture in many states across America.

This child labor is not just healthy chores or work for parents on the home farm, but employment by large scale agriculture in many crops, often gruelling toil in stooping, crawling, backbreaking positions. It impairs the health of these our least privileged children, and robs them of their rightful American heritage of adequate education.

Most migrant families live in misery. Often 8 or 10 persons crowded into one room shacks—unsanitary privies—garbage—flies—disease.

NEEDED better child labor laws—better enforcement—decent housing and sanitation—child day care centers and school facilities—health services—safe transportation.

The National Child Labor Committee is a private agency with no political affiliations, working for better conditions. Annual budget approved by the National Budget Committee of Community Chests and Councils of America, and the National Social Welfare Assembly.

Let's show the world the concern for the least privileged and the desire for justice to all which live in the heart of America.

Please detach and mail today.

To the National Child Labor Committee
419 Fourth Ave. New York 16, N. Y.

I enclose $..... to help your drive for better conditions for migrant children.

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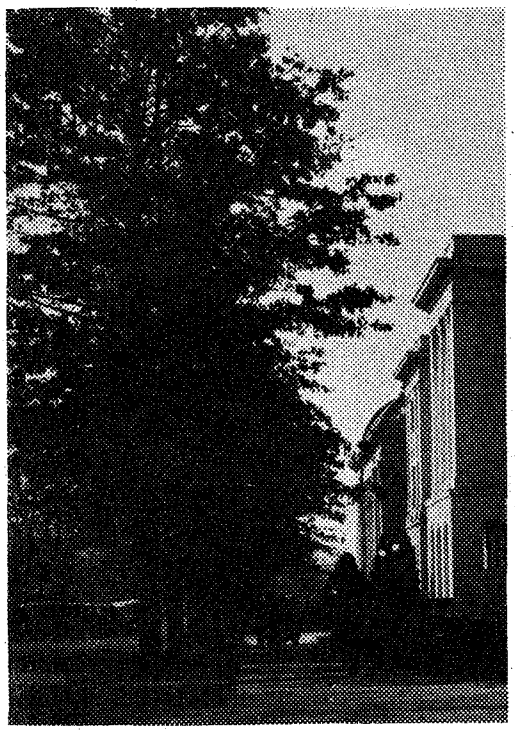

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Senator Paul H. Douglas
The late Senator Charles W. Tobey
June 17, 1953

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